THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

Volume XLVI, No. 1 Winter 1986

Vol. XLVI, Winter 1986 ISSN 0003-0155

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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE is published quarterly in Winter, Spring, Summer and Fall, by The Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Massachusetts. The officers of the corporation are: Richard Wheatland, President, Susanne L. Phippen, Secretary, and Jonathan Loring, Treasurer. The support of the journal depends upon receipts from subscriptions, and no payment is made for contributions or for editorial work.

In 1985 the subscription rate will be $32.00 per year for domestic subscribers and $35.00 per year for foreign subscribers. Subscriptions are accepted only for complete volumes, which coincide with the calendar year. In return for subscriptions received after the beginning of the year, subscribers will receive the numbers that have already appeared in the current volume, as well as the numbers that will be published during the remainder of the year. Single copies are $8.50 each in 1985. Certain complete volumes of back issues are available although in cases where the supply is greatly reduced some numbers are sold only as parts of complete volumes.

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Second-class postage paid at Salem, Massachusetts, and at additional mailing offices.
Subscriptions should be addressed to THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE.
Manuscripts, books for listing, and correspondence should be addressed to The Editor.
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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

Peabody Museum, East India Square, Salem, Massachusetts 01970

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Volume XLVI, No. 1

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SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

PUBLISHED BY THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF SALEM, SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

PRINTED BY THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE

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EDITOR'S COMMENTS

IN April of 1985 the North American Society for Oceanic History met at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, for its ninth annual meeting. It was a most appropriate meeting place because here a decade earlier the society was born. Here also since its birth in Walter Whitehill's North Andover barn, for forty-five years *The American Neptune*, the only learned journal of maritime history in North America has found a home.

The subject the North American Society met to discuss was the sudden movement after 1785 of American ships, sailors and merchants beyond Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean and the Pacific which British commercial monopolies and policies had heretofore kept them from entering. And since the year 1985 was just 200 years after the return of the *Empress of China* from Canton and the departure of Elias Hasket Derby's Salem ship, *The Grand Turk* for India, this was a most appropriate subject. And it was also a part of *The Year of India* which has for these last twelve months been celebrated throughout the museum world of the United States.

The sessions of this Peabody Museum North American Society for Oceanic History meeting which form the winter issue of the *Neptune* and which are available in separate form as well, represent an attempt to assess the results of these vital contacts over the period of a century between 1785 and 1885. They consist of two types of articles. Three of them, Philip Chadwick Foster Smith's account of the voyage of the *Empress of China* to and from Canton, G. Bhagat's survey of American trade with India from 1785 to 1815 and Peter Fetchko's story of the first American and Salem vessel's contact with Tokugawa, Japan, long before Perry opened it up to the wider world of commerce, tell the story of the initial American maritime connections between these vital areas of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

But that, of course, is only part of the story because a much more vital question which needs to be pursued is what these contacts meant to both Americans and to the people of China, India, and Japan. They were also important to that oceanic area of the Pacific which lay along trade routes leading to East Asia from western American shores. No single set of articles, of course, can depict all the results of these maritime connections during this first 100 years, whether we examine cultural and scientific ideas, military and naval elements, religious understanding, or material objects like porcelains, silks, furniture and art objects of various kinds. These, as we know, fill a number of museums and helped to change the furnishings of many of our loveliest Federal homes in Salem or Providence and stately mansions found on Beacon Hill in Boston, in Annapolis, New York, Philadelphia and Charlestown, or even in Creole, New Orleans, and late nineteenth century San Francisco. It does seem important however to note some results of all this in the other four articles.

Hence we begin with a discussion of some military dimensions of these contacts by examining Cornwallis' career in India. This may seem strange to some, who only think of Lord Cornwallis as the commander of the British forces who surrendered at Yorktown and thus assured the American Colonies their independence by 1783. Franklin Wickwire, the world's leading expert on Cornwallis, however, makes clear the importance of North American experiences in Cornwallis' Indian period where he more than any other Englishman, except John Clive, assured British dominance which was to last almost two centuries. Cornwallis brought with him a number of officers who had served with him in America. And he had the advantage of his

campaigns there, as Wickwire makes clear. Without America, then, Britain's Second Empire in India which Cornwallis helped make possible could not have arisen as it did.

The second article on China is very different. It tells of the career of a very different kind of man, Elijah Coleman Bridgman, a missionary who arrived in Canton from New England early in the nineteenth century, and whose activities had a great cultural and religious impact on both the United States and the Celestial Kingdom. Bridgman was important because he was the first American to attempt a translation of the Bible into Chinese. But he also played a vital role because of his attempts to understand and appreciate Chinese culture in general. For decades he published in Chinese a newspaper called *The Chinese Repository* which was devoted to this effort. Frederick Drake, who has an account here of his life and career in an article entitled, 'Bridgman in China in the Early Nineteenth Century' is particularly suited to describe the Chinese scene since he has written extensively not only on Bridgman but also of the impact of western ideas upon the Chinese mandarin class during the early nineteenth century. In this article, then, we hope to sum up some of the cultural results of our contacts with China which were inaugurated by the *Empress of China* in 1785.

Our third article concerns the world of Oceania which was explored and exploited by Americans soon after 1785, as a by-product of their pursuit of the whale and trading interests in China. As is well known, one of the main problems of trade with the Chinese which Americans soon discovered, was the lack of products which the Chinese were willing to accept in return for their porcelains, teas and silks. Not having access, as their British cousins did, to opium from the Indian subcontinent, Yankee traders found it vital to procure silver specie from Mexico and Peru, furs from the seal rookeries off South and North American shores and sea otter pelts from the Northwest Oregon coast. All these had a ready market in Canton. So did bêche-de-mer and sandalwood from the islands of Oceania. Most nineteenth century traders on their way across the Pacific to China found the islands of Hawaii not only an ideal place to break their voyage but initially found large groves of sandalwood there which was much prized in Canton. So while Americans settled in Hawaii to do good and convert its Polynesian inhabitants, others as the saying goes, came to do well in trade and commerce. One of these was Stephen Reynolds about whom Pauline King writes extensively in her article entitled, 'Stephen Reynolds' Influence on Business and Culture in Hawaii, 1823-1855.' His career in Oahu illustrates the special economic and cultural results of that commerce which began to change Hawaii from a Polynesian paradise to the polyglot, high rise world of the late twentieth century.

Our final article by John Thayer entitled, 'Morse in Japan and His Impact There,' tells the story of Edward Morse's influence on Japan towards the last part of this first century of American contacts in the Indian Ocean and in Pacific waters. Morse was a very different type from Cornwallis, Bridgman or Reynolds. He was a scientist trained by Louis Agassiz and went to Japan on a scientific mission. There he became fascinated by the older culture of a Japan which in early Meiji times was moving towards westernization at break-neck speed. He collected in Japan all sorts of material objects, which today we call folk art, from this rapidly changing Japanese world. Most of these he gave to the Peabody Museum after his return. But even more important he almost single-handedly brought to Japan a new scientific interest in anthropology and science in general. He represents the cultural and the scientific impact of our contacts with Japan during this first century of maritime commerce with East Asia.

To study the articles which form these *Proceedings* then helps to understand how, why and when for economic reasons Americans reached these remote areas of the Seven Seas where different Indian, East Asian and Oceanic cultures prevailed. It also tells us of some of the mutual military, religious, economic, scientific and broad cultural impact of all this. And if one wishes to see many of the results of these contacts visibly preserved or available in library or storehouse, one should visit the Peabody Museum or others of its ilk, or the houses on Chestnut Street in Salem during the years ahead.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

Salem, Massachusetts

Americans and American Trade in India, 1784-1814

G. Bhagat

I

WHY did Americans start going to the Orient, particularly India, soon after their independence from Great Britain?

Before the Declaration of Independence, the Thirteen Colonies of North America had for generations received and enjoyed India goods brought to them by ships belonging to the British East India Company. These colonies were not permitted to trade directly with British possessions in Asia. The East India Company had a monopoly and would not tolerate it.

The trade restrictions, however, did not prevent individual Americans from seeking employment with the East India Company or its far-flung colonies. Elihu Yale of Connecticut, for instance, went to India as an employee of the company in 1672 at the age of twenty-four, and in a short time worked his way up from a ten-pound-a-year clerk to the rich governorship of Madras (1687-1692). The New Englander, who was destined to be immortalized by his benefaction to the university which bears his name, retired with an immense fortune. Elihu Yale chose Great Britain as his permanent home, and continued his lucrative diamond trade with India.[1]

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

	£ s d
1 Bengal Sicca Rupee	0-2- 4
1 Bombay Rupee	0-2- 3
1 Madras Rupee	0-2- 2
1 Spanish Milled Dollar	0-5- 0
1 French livre of 20 sols	0-0-10

1. James D. Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937), p. 65.

Another American, David Ochterlony, a graduate of New Hampshire's Dummer Academy who rose to the rank of major-general in the British army, was instrumental in conquering Nepal.[2] Ochterlony, who stayed in India, was not as fortunate as other Americans, and remained poor to the end of his life. Appointed British Resident at the Court in Delhi, he invested in real estate there, but he had to pay heavy interest charges on his debt.[3] Furthermore, he did not enjoy cordial relations with the King in Delhi, who rejected all his advice.[4] Nonetheless, the British government gave him a knighthood in 1815,[5] as well as a pension; and the East India Company erected a monument to him in 1832. The general's monument, still standing in the square in Calcutta, is a reminder of the early American ventures in India.

Samuel Shaw, the supercargo of the *Empress of China,* later American Consul in Canton, went to India several times, the first being in 1785. While he was in Calcutta, the American met English traders and government officials, including Earl Cornwallis, the governor-general. He had great regard for the English ruler of India and found His Lordship 'justly the object of universal esteem.' Shaw found Calcutta prosperous and charming because the English, safe within Fort William, ruled Bengal unchallenged: 'the riches and resources of the country are great . . . commerce is in a

2. W. S. Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes,* 5 vols. (Calcutta: Military Orphan Press, 1864-1869), vol. 115. Ochterlony was commanding the troops which led 'to the signal defeat and ultimate submission of the enemy [Nepal].'

3. Commonwealth Relations Office, London, Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 738, p. 773, Ochterlony to Charles Metcalfe, 15 Feb. 1821.

4. Ibid., p. 799.

5. *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* (London: Black, Parbury, and Allen, 1816), vol. 1, pp. 81, 93.

flourishing condition, . . . and the natives are easy and apparently happy."[6] Since Samuel Shaw corresponded regularly, his reports must have inspired the future American traders who were getting ready to exploit the Indian markets.

The name and activities of another Yankee must be mentioned, for William Duane did something spectacular in India that no other foreigners had tried then or have tried since. An Irish Catholic and native of New York State, Duane probably knew India better than any other American of his time. He went to India in 1787 and lived there until 1794, working in the Revenue Department at Fort William between 1788 and 1791 and independently thereafter.[7] On 15 October 1791, Duane embarked on a project that startled the East India Company, inaugurating in Calcutta a newspaper, *The World,* and boldly pronouncing in the first issue, 'the Editor is now a servant of the *Public*—whose good shall be his grand object. . . .' The American who had lived long under the British Government declared: 'It is the opinion of the Editor, that all subjects whatever, ought, of right to be publicly, openly, and undoubtedly discussed; but this opinion he urges only as a *Citizen* of the *World.*'[8]

Duane was probably aware of the possible consequences of his singular stand, and he tried to escape the wrath of the East India Company by adding that 'political interference with the measures of Government, therefore, as well as subjects tending to invade the domestic threshold, or in any respect, bordering on the nature of libel, will be studiously and rigidly rejected in this paper. To every other topic, it is open."[9] In addition, *The World* accepted advertisement from American ships leaving Calcutta.[10]

The company government, however, waited for a pretense on which to expel the Yankee from the British possession in India. They ultimately brought suit against the editor on 12 April 1794, charging that William Duane had published 'certain remarks against the Vizir of Oudh which were considered by the government "offensive and injurious." ' The Government ordered Duane's deportation to England as punishment for his 'anti-government' article in *The World.*[11]

Duane appealed for a delay in deportation,[12] pleading that he needed time to terminate his business in India. He possessed 'a large property . . . in all parts of India.'[13] The harassed American even tried to solicit help from John Jay (who was then in England negotiating Jay's Treaty), but his effort was to no avail. He was arrested and whisked away to England.[14] The rebellious American left England and returned to America, to take up residence in Philadelphia, there to become a printer to the Government.

William Duane was a lone example of an American who went to India not only to make money but also to keep alive his revolutionary spirit. Other Americans went to the Asian lands to make money for themselves and their employers. The War of Independence and subsequently the independence gave America the right to trade with any nation in the world. The Treaty of 1783 had removed all obstacles of the British Navigation Acts which had limited all American colonial trade to the British Isles. Now an independent United States could legally trade with the nations of the world—with those who cared to do so—including the far-flung British Empire. The new republic immediately seized upon the opportunity and began to explore new markets around the world.[15]

II

What did Americans do in India between 1784 and 1815?

Two American ships left the shores of the New World in 1784 on their maiden voyage to the Orient. One was the celebrated *Empress of China* which headed toward China February 1784 'to extend the commerce of the United States of America to that dis-

6. Josiah Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (Boston: Wm. Crossby and H. P. Nicholas, 1847), pp. 263, 275.

7. C.R.O., Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 537, pp. 184-224, William Duane to the Chairman and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, London, Grays Inn, 4 Sept. 1794.

8. C.R.O., *The World,* vol. 1, no. 1, p. 1.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., II (No. 62), vol. 1. For example, Derby's *Grand Turk,* on 15 December 1792, stated that it was soon sailing for the United States and was a 'fine fast sailing ship with excellent accommodations. . . .'

11. Abdul Faiz S. Ahmed, 'The Development of Public Opinion in Bengal 1818-1839' (Unpublished dissertation, London University, 1961), pp. 110-11.

12. C.R.O., Home Misc., vol. 537, pp. 125-26, William Duane to Bengal Government, 1 Dec. 1794.

13. Ibid., p. 144, Duane to Edward Hay (Secretary to Bengal Government), 1 Dec. 1794.

14. C.R.O., Home Misc., vol. 537, pp. 151-56, Minutes from the Governor-General, 27 Dec. 1794.

15. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-1789* (The University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 119.

tant and to us unexplored country.'[16] The *Empress* (Captain John Green and Supercargo Major Samuel Shaw) carried a mixed cargo worth $120,000;[17] it was truly a 'trial vessel to learn' whether the United States could break its dependence on the British East India Company.[18]

The spirit of the newly independent Americans was so high that within weeks after the *Empress of China* had sailed, they loaded another ship, the 400-ton *United States*. The *United States*[19] cleared Philadelphia on 24 March 1784, carrying ginseng, naval stores, copper, miscellaneous hardware, and a 'considerable sum in dollars,'[20] and headed for the Orient. The second American ship was also headed for China,[21] but instead went to India and thus won the honor of being the first United States ship to hoist the Stars and Stripes on Indian territory.[22] The *United States*, commanded by Thomas Bell,[23] reached Pondicherry, the capital of French India, at 6:00 P.M., 26 December 1784, exactly nine months and one day after her departure from Philadelphia.[24]

Like the *Empress of China*, the *United States* on her maiden voyage was attempting to 'explore the advantages of Oriental commerce.'[25] None of the persons aboard had any knowledge of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The *United States* for a while could not decide where to land; it passed by the Isle of France (Mauritius) but changed its course. Finally it reached Madras on Saturday, 25 December 1784; but the proud Americans did not touch the British colony in India.[26] They moved on, and on Sunday, 26 December 1784, they came to anchor in Pondicherry Road.[27] America's contacts with India had begun.

The arrival of the American ship at the French possession in India caused considerable consternation among English officials in Madras who had been distrustful of the French motives in India. Lord Macartney (the English Governor at Madras) who distrusted Marquis de Bussy, the ruler of Pondicherry, wrote his superiors in England: 'An American ship is now upon the Coast, with merchandize, . . . this is the first attempt from that Quarter. . . .' He promised to supply London with 'every Information, I can obtain concerning it.'[28] Lord Macartney's spies kept track of every foreign contact with the French possession in India. They feared France more than anyone else in India. Lord Macartney somehow got 'information' that the Americans were out to establish a settlement in India.[29] But it proved incorrect. Macartney also had information that 'Mr. Willing [of Philadelphia] . . . had projected an East India Company';[30] the Americans, however, had no idea about British activities in the French possession in India. The log of the *United States* does not mention any. The ship ended

16. Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., 'The Voyage of the *Empress of China*,' reprint from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Jan. 1939, p. 24.

17. John W. Swift, purser of *Empress of China*, wrote to his father from Canton on 3 December 1784: 'Our Cargo turned out so so. We bought too much Gin seng. . . .' *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. IX (1885), p. 485.

18. Marion V. Brewington, 'Maritime Philadelphia 1609-1837,' *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LXIII (April 1939), p. 114.

19. *United States* was owned by 'Philip Moore, Mark Bird, James Wilson, Joseph Harrison, James Hood, John Redman, and Joshua Humphreys.' Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., 'Log and Journal of the ship United States on a Voyage to China in 1784,' *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LV (1931), p. 226. Professor Holden Furber in his book *John Company at Work*, p. 144, says that *United States* was owned by Thomas Willing of Philadelphia. Dr. H. R. Ghosal in his article 'Indo-American Trade' supports Professor Furber's statement. Both of these scholars apparently draw upon the same source: Commonwealth Relations Office (C.R.O.), London, Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 247, pp. 373-86, Lord Macartney's letter of 30 Jan. 1785 to the Committee of Secrecy. Macartney informs his London office that the 'principal Owner (of *United States*) is Mr. Willing of Philadelphia.' Furber's and Ghosal's information does not seem to be quite convincing because most of the Philadelphia ships were collectively owned. See National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 36, District of Pennsylvania: Proofs of Ownership, March 1790-June 1792. Except for the brig *Kitty* (owner Stephen Girard), no Philadelphia ship was owned by one person.

20. G. Bhagat, 'America's Commercial and Consular Relations with India, 1784-1860' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1963), p. 31.

21. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 'The Log of the United States,' henceforth referred to as 'The Log.'

22. 'The Log.'

23. There were forty-five persons on *United States*. Prominent among them were Captain Bell, Surgeon Thomas Redman (who kept the Log), Philip Moore (the supercargo), and a son of Thomas Willing.

24. 'The Log.'

25. C.R.O., London, Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 247, p. 381; Lord Macartney to the Committee on Secrecy of the Court of Directors, 30 Jan. 1785.

26. The arrival of the ship in India is also mentioned by George Baker in a letter from Madras, 25 Jan. 1785, stating that it was the first American ship to come to India. City Library, Castle Street, Exeter, England, Palk Papers.

27. For Adventurous Journey of the *United States*, see G. Bhagat, 'First Contacts with India, 1784-1785,' *The American Neptune*, vol. XXXI, no. 1, 1971.

28. C.R.O., London, Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 247, p. 380.

29. Ibid., p. 382.

30. Ibid.

her voyage to India and weighed anchor for Philadelphia on 3 February 1785, reaching the home port on 13 September 1785.

The American investors probably did not realize much from their first venture to India, but it was remarkable in one sense. The maiden Yankee voyage to India gave American risk-takers a clue and a taste for the Asian trade. Before long American ships were sailing to Madeira, the Isle of France, India, Sumatra, and Canton in increasing numbers. By 1790, many of the trade potentialities of Asia were known, and American trade with India reached the million-dollar mark.[31] The volume of India trade rose rapidly,[32] and by the turn of the nineteenth century had outstripped the British trade. American merchants built up a multimillion-dollar trade with India during the French and early European Napoleonic Wars.[33] After 1815, when peace prevailed in Europe and Asia, the American trade was defeated by European competition.[34] Moreover, new America had vast, empty land to conquer. The opportunity lay at home. Nonetheless, between 1784 and 1815 the bold Americans developed a new technique of trade in Asia, especially in India, which deserves our attention.

Although New York and Philadelphia pioneered the Asian trade, they did not fully enter into it. None of their ships soon followed the *United States*. The second American ship to go to India and the first to sail to the United States from Calcutta[35] was the *Hydra* owned partly by merchants of Providence, Rhode Island. The *Hydra* arrived at Hugli (Calcutta) in June 1785.[36] The Providence firm of Brown and Francis sent the 1,000-ton *General Washington* to India in 1787,[37] carrying anchors, sail cloth, munitions of war, claret, porter, cider, hams, chocolates, cheese, and spermaceti candles.[38] The ship went first to Madeira, thence to the Cape of Good Hope, and the coast of India, where it engaged in coastal trading with Pondicherry and Madras (much to the annoyance of the officials of the East India Company) and on to Malacca. Finally, from Madras the vessel went to Canton and returned to Rhode Island via the West Indies.[39] Many American ships followed the example of the *General Washington*, carrying New England goods, some Spanish milled dollars, and engaging in coastal trading.

It was neither New York, nor Philadelphia or Providence, but Salem, Massachusetts, that exploited the India trade with dedication and completeness. And in Salem it was Elias Hasket Derby who almost monopolized the India trade. Elias Hasket had inherited business from his father, Richard Derby, who before independence had established trade connections with the West Indies, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Madeira, and Gibraltar.[40] Richard Derby died in 1783, bequeathing to his son his business and good reputation. The younger Derby had shown signs of business acumen and had added considerably to his family's fortune during the War of Independence by privateering.

Elias Hasket Derby resumed plying the trade route he and his father had followed before independence. Between April 1783 and the end of 1784, he dispatched no less than twenty-five ships, reflecting an 'almost frantic search for profitable markets'[41] but without success. Finally, he sent his ship the *Grand Turk* (this ship was built in 1780 by Thomas Barslow of Hanover, Massachusetts). It was a multi-purpose vessel designed as a fast merchantman but filled for armament. The *Grand Turk*, under Captain Jonathan Ingersoll, was sent to the East Indies on 27 November 1784, carrying

31. Bhagat, 'America's Commercial and Consular Relations with India, 1784-1860,' chap. III.

32. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Miscellaneous vol. XVII, 1784-1796, Thomas Russell et al. to George Cabot, 1 Nov. 1792.

33. C.R.O., London, Bengal Commercial Reports, 1804-1805, Range 174, vol. 16, paras. 43 and 48.

34. Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Massachusetts, Custom House Papers, Digest of Duties, vol. I. See also Ralph D. Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem* (New York: The Outing Publishing Company, 1908), p. 226.

35. Sharon Ahmat, 'Some Problems of the Rhode Island Traders in Java, 1799-1836,' *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. VI (March 1965), p. 94.

36. Holden Furber, 'The Beginnings of American Trade with India, 1784-1812,' *The New England Quarterly*, vol. XI (June 1938), p. 238.

37. Providence Institute for Savings, *Ships and Shipmasters of Old Providence* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1919), p. 20.

38. John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I., V-G35, 1787-1792, Brown Papers, Invoice of ship *General Washington*, To Madiera and India, 22 Dec. 1787; James Hodges, 'Brown Papers,' *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, 1941, vol. LI (Worcester, Mass.: Published by the Society, 1942), p. 29.

39. J.C.B.L., Brown Papers, Log of the Ship *General Washington*, 27 Dec. 1787.

40. Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, Derby Family Manuscripts (D.F.M.), vol. I, (illegible) to Richard Derby, 18 May 1759. In this volume see also, Lane and Fraser to Elias Hasket Derby, London, 18 Feb. 1784.

41. Richard H. McKey, Jr., 'Elias Hasket Derby, Merchant of Salem, 1739-1799' (Doctoral dissertation, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1961), pp. 149, 151.

with it 10,000 Spanish milled dollars and an assorted cargo worth $18,000. There were no partners in the venture.

When the *Grand Turk* reached the Cape of Good Hope, the ship had the good fortune of meeting the *Empress of China,* which had left Canton on 28 December. The Salem seamen took this opportunity to interview Major Shaw, the supercargo of the *Empress.* From him they got first-hand knowledge of the cargo the New York ship was bringing from China. The shrewd Salemites decided against proceeding beyond the cape. They bargained with a British East Indian returning from India, agreeing to buy the English captain's 200 chests of the best teas (in exchange for their own rum worth $10,000) and some $3,000 worth of silk goods, although the Americans agreed to deliver the rum at St. Helena. The Salem ship returned home via the West Indies with a cargo worth well over $40,000.[42] The net profit of $12,000, or forty-three percent, was not spectacular; but neither was the return too low, considering it was Derby's first long-distance Eastern venture.

The first voyage of the *Grand Turk* gave Elias Hasket Derby a taste for trade with India. Meanwhile, the French authorities in Mauritius (Isle of France) began to show signs of respect for American ships; and the French Government by the decree of 30 November 1784 gave permission to American ships to trade with the Island. Through his network of agents Derby learned about the favorable conditions in Mauritius and took the opportunity to concentrate in the region of the Indian Ocean.

The Salemite began to send his ships to the Indian Ocean area one after another. Four of his ships (the *Grand Turk,* the *Light Horse,* brig *Three Sisters,* and the ship *Three Sisters*) were in the region at the same time. For an original investment of about $79,000, the four vessels returned cargo worth nearly $95,000. If, as he often did, Derby doubled the price when he sold the goods, he cleared almost $190,000.[43]

Derby in the meanwhile did not abandon his other markets. Instead, he pursued the Eastern trade more actively than did any other American, 'refining the commerce of the Indian Ocean to an art, and making Salem, Massachusetts, and the United States itself, into an emporium of the eastern goods.'[44] In 1788 alone, Derby put some nine of his largest and finest vessels into the trade. The profits he realized from this India trade made Elias Hasket Derby the first millionaire in the United States.[45] In 1789 some of the Derby ships returned from Calcutta, Bombay, and Rangoon, having earned $100,000 above outlays.[46] At times profits from the India trade were truly impressive, 'as much as 700 percent.'[47]

Between 1784 and 1790, Americans traded with India, but not wholeheartedly. They did not have a true understanding of the Indian market. The Yankee ships carried Spanish milled dollars, wine, rum, cognac, spermaceti candles and a few other items; the nature of these goods indicates that they were aimed mainly at European settlements in India. Calcutta, their future market, was not yet explored. All this changed, however, when war once again broke out in Europe and Asia.

Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars found herself embroiled globally. The 'mistress of the sea' was mustering all her naval strength, public and private, to meet the great challenge throughout the world. Meanwhile, a neutral United States under the able guidance of George Washington, took advantage of Britain's distress in Europe and elsewhere.[48]

Americans had already begun to take advantage of the wars between the English and the Indian rules. (India was divided up among many rulers, who fought among themselves and against the English.) This multi-faceted war in India became a source of profit for the American traders. John Gibaut, a Derby captain wrote from India that the 'prospect of success upon the Coast of Malabar is considerable.'[49]

While the old empires were falling and new ones

42. Ibid., p. 169.

43. McKey, 'Elias Hasket Derby,' p. 200.

44. Ibid., pp. 238-39.

45. G. Bhagat, *Americans in India,* 1784-1860 (New York: New York University Press, 1970), p. 15.

46. Paine, *Old Merchant Marine* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1919), p. 52.

47. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1795-1802, Range 174, vol. 13, para. 30; Charles E. Trow, *The Old Shipmasters of Salem* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1905), p. xxii. The profit in America was so high that Americans imported from Calcutta more than 'one Million Sterling a year.'

48. For an excellent summary of America's foreign policy during the last decade of the eighteenth century, see Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States,* 5th ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), chap. VI.

49. E.I., D.F.M. vol. XIV, John Gibaut to E.H. Derby, Isle of France, 20 September 1791.

were emerging, Elias Derby, Jr. (the son of Elias Hasket Derby) was diligently building up a new commercial empire in the Indian Ocean. The Indian market proved so lucrative that other Americans rushed into the India trade. In 1790, for instance, the younger Derby was in Madras, and Benjamin Crowninshield and John Gibaut were off the Coromandel coast.[50] In 1792, two Crowninshields (Benjamin and Jacob), Captain Silsbee, and Commander John Gibaut were all in Indian waters.[51] In addition, Captain Hodges was in the area, for he wrote to Derby from Calcutta announcing the arrival there of the Brown ship *President Washington*.[52] Meanwhile, the younger Derby, who had lived in India 'for three years in the interests of his house, building up a trade almost fabulously profitable,'[53] returned to Salem to help his father prepare for broader operations in the East Indies.

Numerous American ships entered the India trade. Brown's *General Washington* made many lucrative voyages to India. Another Brown ship, the *John Jay,* left Providence on 28 December 1794. The voyage of the *John Jay* was undoubtedly one of the most profitable American ventures into India, for the cargo returned to Providence was valued at as much as $256,297, as calculated by Kimball.[54] Duty alone on the Indian voyage was $75,406.48. The *John Jay* made three additional voyages to India before she was finally captured by a British privateer.

Meanwhile, Elias Hasket Derby was making money fast in India trade. His *Grand Turk II* proved as profitable as *Grand Turk I.* The *Grand Turk II,* for instance, on her return to Salem from India on 14 June 1793, paid $24,369.42 in duty to the customs house.[55] The sum was one of the largest single duty payments made to the federal government since the Custom Service had been initiated in 1789. By 1793, Derby had made so much money in the India trade that he was referred to as 'King,' a nickname indicative of his financial status in American society.

John Jay was quite satisfied with the Jay Treaty,[56] as it was 'a manifestation and proof of good will [of the British] towards us.'[57] In reality, John Jay was deceived by the English. The greatest mistake the American negotiator made was to agree that Americans would carry goods from India directly to America, even if they were ultimately destined for other countries.[58] Such a provision was definitely intended to limit the carrying trade of the United States, a technique that had been extensively used by American ships, which often lacked capital. In practice, however, the Yankee traders violated the Jay Treaty. The violation was criticized by both the East India Company officials and private merchants in London. The officials charged that the Americans (1) sailed directly from India to Europe, (2) traded between India and Europe, by merely touching at an American port on their way to Europe, (3) supplied the British West Indies and British North American colonies with Indian and Chinese goods, (4) engaged in coastal trading with India, (5) served 'as the medium of the illicit commerce of British subjects to and from the British settlements in India,' and (6) conveyed 'home the Trade of our Enemies.'[59]

Private merchants in England denounced American trade with India even more vehemently. No individual trader in England could trade with India, and it became intolerable for the business community to find Americans trading freely at its expense.[60] All this denunciation was in vain because the American ships and sailors had full cooperation of the East India Company servants in India. Cooperation between Americans and the British in India was so great that Yankee ships flooded the Indian market during the Napoleonic wars, which lasted almost two decades.

In truth, the English community in India never thought of Americans as foreigners.[61] The Western population in India was full of praise for the new re-

50. E.I., D.F.M., vol. IX.

51. E.I., D.F.M., vol. XXVII.

52. E.I., D.F.M., vol. XIV, Hodges to Derby, Calcutta. In addition, John Rogers, a captain from Providence, was also in India. J.C.B.L., Brown Papers, V-G35, 1787-1792.

53. Ralph D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), p. 55.

54. Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, 'The East India Trade of Providence, from 1787 to 1807,' *Papers from Historical Seminary of Brown University* (Providence, R.I.: Preston and Rounds, 1896), p. 17.

55. P.M.S., Salem Custom House Papers, Digest of Duties from 15 August 1789 to 7 April 1851.

56. For details see G. Bhagat, 'The Jay Treaty and Indian Trade,' Essex Institute Historical Collections, vol. CVIII, No. 2 (April 1972).

57. National Archives, Department of State, Great Britain, vol. 2, John Jay to Secretary Randolph, London, 19 November 1794.

58. *U.S. Congress, American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (Washington, 1832-1861), vol. I, 522-23.

59. C.R.O., Home Miscellaneous, vol. 337, pp. 900-906.

60. *Parliamentary Debates,* vol. XXIV, p. 387.

61. Holden Furber, 'The Beginnings of American Trade with India, 1784-1813,' p. 264.

public.[62] *The Calcutta Gazette*, an English publication which began in 1784, gave George Washington a prominent position in its issue of 20 January 1785, acclaiming the general as a great, wealthy and popular American hero who came from a 'noble family.' Praise for America in general was very high.[63] Besides harboring friendly and filial feelings for the Americans, Westerners in India considered Americans to be safe carriers of the Anglo-Indian wealth to Europe.[64] Moreover, their import of dollars to the silver-poor economy was more than welcome to the East India Company officials.[65]

Merchants all over the East Coast of the United States—Baltimore, Boston, Beverly, Dedham, New York, Philadelphia, Providence—entered the India trade; but none did as persistently as the Derbys and the Crowninshields of Salem, Massachusetts. The Derby ships were in Indian waters regularly—visiting the Isle of France, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon and Canton (China). They carried capital only nominally; most of the money was made in coastal trading in India. The efficient American ships—light and fast—monopolized the coastal trading. While European ships were involved in the war, the United States captains reaped advantage.

The Derbys had a strong competitor, in Salem itself. The Crowninshield family—related by marriage to the Derbys—sent ships in India as regularly as their relatives.[66] Captain John Crowninshield wrote his father from the Isle of France: 'Where I shall go from this [place is] very uncertain indeed as I hear India is full and full of Americans in particular I mean Madras and Calcutta and Batavia etc. I must go somewhere else.'[67] However, profitable India trade continued to look bright and the future looked attractive. Jacob Crowninshield wrote to Captain Silsbee, a veteran of the India trade: 'If the war continues in Europe (and I think it will) we have a right to calculate upon rich harvests.'[68] Even Fisher Ames of Dedham, a powerful and controversial congressman from Massachusetts (1788-1796), ventured into the India trade in order to improve his financial conditions.[69] The congressman made safe investments in ships that sailed directly from the United States to India and back.[70] The legislator did not want to violate the Jay Treaty.

II

Why did American interest in India decline after 1815?

America's persistent efforts, adventurous spirits, and strong determination to exploit the India trade during the middle of the Napoleonic Wars proved successful. The total trade with India increased from approximately Sicca Rupees 4,110,078 in 1796-1797 to S.R. 8,739,952 in 1804-1805, and was even higher in 1805-1806, reaching nearly S.R. 17,222,987. But 1807 was the peak year of the India trade, when America's total business with India jumped to approximately S.R. 26,035,310. The total American trade between 1785 and 1796, comments Holden Furber, exceeded by about one-fourth that carried on under the flags of continental European nations.[71] While Europe was embroiled in war, America plied the Indian Ocean[72] and profited handsomely.

Elias Hasket Derby of Salem died in 1799; his empire was liquidated the same year. Salem, however, retained her position as the chief port for India trade for another decade, for after 1800, the Crowninshields, Derby's powerful rivals, ruled the mercantile kingdom. Meanwhile, England and France had become tired of the bloody war that had lasted for almost a decade and signed the Treaty of Amiens. This affected America's trade adversely. However, the hostilities resumed again

62. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Log of the *United States*. Marquis de Bussy, the French ruler in Pondicherry, praised America.

63. *The Calcutta Gazette*, 20 January 1785, vol. 2, no. 47.

64. C. Northcote Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937), p. 358.

65. Concerning the shortage of silver in India, see F.P. Robinson, *The Trade of East India Company from 1709 to 1813* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 11, and J. C. Sinha, 'Economic Theorists among the Servants of the John Company (1766-1806),' *Economic Journal*, London, March 1925.

66. P.M.S., Papers of Benjamin Crowninshield, vol. IV.

67. E.I., Crowninshield Family Papers (C.F.P.), box I, John Crowninshield to his father, Isle of France, 1 June 1796.

68. P.M.S., Papers of Jacob Crowninshield, Jacob Crowninshield to Captain Silsbee, Washington, 5 February 1804.

69. Samuel Eliot Morison, 'The India Ventures of Fisher Ames, 1794-1804,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S. (13 April-19 October 1927), p. 14.

70. Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Massachusetts, Papers of Fisher Ames, William Gray, Jr., to Fisher Ames, Salem, 30 November 1794.

71. Furber, 'The Beginnings of India Trade,' p. 258.

72. For a description of America's trade between 1793 and 1798, see Leon Levi, *History of British Commerce* (London: John Murray, 1872), p. 82.

in 1803 and this again gave impetus to America's trade with India. Between 1803 and 1804 the United States sent twenty-eight ships and Rs. 1,618,791 to Calcutta and imported from Bengal merchandise worth Rs. 6,670,800. (American imports from Calcutta between 1802 and 1803 had been only Rs. 4,818,987.) Between 1804 and 1805, United States exports to Calcutta 'amounted to the very large sum of Sicca Rs. 6,067,910 and consisted of S.R. 1,089,904 in the value of merchandise . . . and S.R. 4,974,000 Treasury. . . .' Exports to the United States from Calcutta amounted to S.R. 6,278,055. . . .'[73] The Bengal government reported to the home office that this enormously favorable balance of trade was an 'amazing advantage which the British possessions in India derive from our commercial Intercourse with America.' Forty-three American ships of 10,952 tons had arrived in Calcutta, twenty-four directly from the United States, four from Lisbon, four from Isle of France, six from Batavia, and five from Arabia and the Persian Gulfs. Forty American ships had cleared from Calcutta.[74]

Difficulty to American shipping was expected because of the Berlin Decree (21 November 1806) imposed by Napolean and the Order-in-Council (7 January 1807) passed by Great Britain. However, while the neutral United States was barred from the Continent by blockade, it found it could still trade in India, for Europeans were completely preoccupied with the war in Europe. The East India Company officials noted that American trade between 1806 and 1807 surpassed 'everything of the kind recorded in the Commercial History of British India.' The reporter commented: 'A trade (American) which seven years ago did not exceed S.Rs. 6,718,992 or £839,784 had advanced in the year under Report the enormous sum of S.Rs. 20,020,432 or £2,502,554, exceeding in the sum of S.Rs. 4,505,142 or £593,018 the total amount of our Private Trade with Great Britain.' The reporter pointed out that the 'Treasure imported by American ships amounted to S.Rs. 9,385,328 and exceeded by more than one-half the total quality of private specie imported into Calcutta in the year under consideration.'[75] It was the kind of American trade to which Edward Parry and Charles Grant objected in their reports to the Directors.[76]

American trade with Madras also increased. It was very trifling during the time of peace in 1802, but in 1805 the United States trade with Madras totaled S.Rs. 3,399,118. The twenty-three American ships which visited Madras in 1805 brought in treasure worth S.Rs. 1,158,456.[77] The Bombay trade during the boom years was about S.R. 200,000, but it never matched that of Calcutta and Madras.[78]

The lucrative India trade was not as much hurt by the punitive measures taken by France and Great Britain against neutral America, but the proud young nation could no longer bear the adverse policies of the continental powers. Sentiment in America was running high over the continued British search of American ships and violation of neutral rights. Jefferson was opposed to a shooting war and advocated an embargo as the best solution; such embargo was applied in December of 1807.

The effect of the embargo on the United States was disastrous, for most of the external commerce of the country came to a halt. The scene at the port of Philadelphia was 'almost desert, wharves crowded with empty vessels. . . .'[79] The New England ports were hurt even more, and there the Jeffersonian scheme struck a deadly blow at the India trade. The Bengal government sadly commented that 'the American Embargo' had 'entirely interdicted all commerce' with the United States. The total decrease in American trade with Bengal was 'of the very considerable sum of S.Rs. 7,089,098, or £884,762.' The Bengal government further reported 'that so considerable a defalcation as S.Rs. 7,089,098, or nearly one Million Sterling of British money . . . is a circumstance calculated to strike apprehension. . . .' Although the English authorities in India considered the embargo 'as a mere temporary arrangement of a National Policy' of the United States, they too were appalled at the 'markets (being) so de-

73. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1804-1805, range 174, vol. 16, para. 49. See also Tripathi, Trade and Finance, p. 89.

74. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1805-1805, range 174, vol. 17, paras. 41-44.

75. Ibid., paras. 30-33.

76. C.R.O., Home Miscellaneous, vol. 494, Parry and Grant to Directors, 14 October 1807.

77. C.R.O., Madras Reports on External Commerce, 1802, range 339, vol. 76, paras. 6, 17, 77.

78. C.R.O., Bombay Commercial Reports, 1805-1806, range 419, vol. 43.

79. Marion V. Brewington, 'Maritime Philadelphia 1609-1837,' *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. LXIII (April 1939), pp. 110-11.

pressed.'[80] British India was so dependent on the trade brought to them by the American ships.

The embargo hurt American trade with Madras even more than it did that with Bengal, causing 'almost total cessation of our entercourse [*sic*] with America.'[81] Trade with Bombay suffered the most. United States imports into Bombay between 1808 and 1809 were only Rs. 800; nothing was exported.[82]

The embargo was finally lifted in March 1809, and the India trade revived. Between 1810 and 1811 the United States imported into Calcutta treasure worth S.Rs. 6,513,605, compared to England's import into Calcutta of S.Rs. 127,922. During the same season, the United States exported from Calcutta merchandise worth S.Rs. 5,240,991.[83] American import to Bombay totaled Rs. 66,652 (including treasure worth Rs. 28,812), and its export was Rs. 28,713 between 1810 and 1811.[84] The Madras trade also had revived.[85]

All this ended when the American Congress, as desired by President Madison, declared war on England on 18 June 1812. The Bengal government reported that 'with America our intercourse has almost entirely failed.'[86] The American trade with Bombay also fell considerably; there was no American trade with Madras between 1811 and 1812.[87] English authorities in British India were so outraged by the American declaration of war that they forbade Americans to enter the territory. It is also likely that the Company officials were not prepared even to take risks with American missionaries,[88] who were not too visible in the first place.

80. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1807-1808, range 174, vol. 19, paras. 4, 27, 30.

81. C.R.O., Madras Reports on External Commerce, 1809, range 339, vol. 110, pp. 2-3.

82. C.R.O., Bombay Commercial Proceedings, 1808-1809, range 419, vol. 45.

83. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1811-1812, range 174, vol. 23, paras. 5, 12.

84. C.R.O., Bombay Commercial Proceedings, 1810-1811, range 419, vol. 47.

85. C.R.O., Madras Reports on External Commerce, 1811-1812, range 339, vol. 119.

86. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1812-13, range 174, vol. 24, para. 4, Ibid., 1811-1812, vol. 23, para. 11.

87. C.R.O., Bombay Commercial Reports, 1809-1810, range 419, vol. 46, and Bombay Commercial Proceedings, 1810-1811, range 419, vol. 47, C.R.O., Madras Reports on External Commerce, 1811-1812, range 339, vol. 119.

88. See Abdul Faiz Ahmed, 'The Development of Public Opinion in Bengal, 1818-1835' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, London University, 1961), p. 262.

Americans after 1815 could not profitably compete with European merchants, especially the English, as Europe was now free to trade with India. Nor was American transhipment required by Europe.[89] When peace came, Yankees were driven from the eastern preserves of the Europeans.

The situation was not helped by America's second commercial treaty with Great Britain. The old shackles of the Jay Treaty remained. Americans had to trade directly between India and the United States and could not legally engage in coastal trading in India,[90] a technique that had immensely helped the young United States. Most probably, the vast expanse of the United States beckoned the adventurers to take risks not by going abroad but by moving westward. The United States now had sufficient capital and youthful spirit to take advantage of the new opportunities within its own boundaries.

The story of America's Indian ventures cannot be complete without observing that the techniques of their trade were complicated and cumbersome. Most sailors were between twenty and twenty-eight years of age, while some were still in their teens.[91] Often the vessels were armed for the purpose of protection against pirate attacks or seizures by foreign powers. Frequently, they collected export cargo from various American ports and even that was not sufficient. Many times they went in ballast, carrying some cash—mostly Spanish milled dollars.[92] Except for the Derbys of Salem, most vessels were owned by many partners. For example, the *Empress of China*, the *United States* and the *George Washington* were financed by several investors.

Each ship required several months in the Indian Ocean region, for American ships took months in coastal trading, before finally loading for home.[93] The American trade was often triangular—America to Europe to India to America. This was in violation of the Jay Treaty, but the Yankees continued to enjoy

89. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, 'From Sails to Spindles,' *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (April 1959), p. 116.

90. *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America 1776-1818*, ed., Hunter Miller (Washington: Department of State, 1931), vol. II, p. 598; see articles 3 and 4.

91. The captain and the seamen were generally between twenty and twenty-eight years of age.

92. P.M.S., Papers of Benjamin W. Crowninshield, vol. IV, invoice of the ship *America*, 19 February 1799.

93. C.R.O., Bengal Commercial Reports, 1804-1805, range 174, vol. 16, para. 48.

the trade mostly with the blessings of the East India Company officials.

Americans occasionally traded with independent Indian ports. Many of them traded through Indian merchants, who were relatively cheaper and more cooperative. In the process a few Indian brokers became very wealthy. For instance, Ramdoolal Dey of Calcutta made millions in his dealings with American traders. However, the Americans carried cargo the British supplied.[94]

It is true that Americans traded with Indian brokers, engaged in coastal trading, carried the Anglo-India wealth to Europe, took advantage of the wars in Europe and made millions in India trade. The Americans took advantage of the opportunity that lay there. However, it is a tribute to the adventurous spirit of young Americans who braved the uncharted oceans, landed in unknown lands and carried business in a way unheard of in the history of the world.

94. John H. Reinoehl, 'Some Remarks on the American Trade: Jacob Crowninshield to James Madison, 1806,' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. XVI (January 1959), p. 113.

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DIRECT trade between the United States and India began in 1785 with the voyage of the ship *United States* from Philadelphia. At the time the Peabody Museum of Salem was founded in 1799 by the East India Marine Society of Salem, Massachusetts, Indian ports were the destination of most Salem vessels sailing to Asia. Between 1795 and 1799, forty-one Salem vessels called at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, twenty-one at Batavia and Sumatra in the Dutch East Indies, and five at Canton. Indian goods, especially cotton textiles, were imported in quantity, were made widely available and were in common use. Salem's East India Marine Society created a broader awareness of Indian culture through its museum, which displayed 'curiosities' from India, and its annual procession, which featured an Indian palanquin with attendants in East Indian dress.

The following photographs show just a few of the objects, now in the collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem, that were associated with Salem's trade with India.

Temporary rudder that Capt. William Mugford of Salem invented in 1804 for the ship *Ulysses*. Mugford was one of five donors of the Indian palanquin that was brought from Calcutta to Salem in 1803 on board the ship *Ulysses*. The *Ulysses* was badly damaged in a storm the following year, but Mugford invented and rigged a temporary rudder which permitted the ship to safely sail home. The American Philosophical Society awarded Mugford a medal for the invention of the device. Currently exhibited in 'Yankee Traders and East India Merchants 1785-1865' at the Peabody Museum of Salem. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

One of several life-size portrait mannequins of Indian merchants brought to Salem. This particular mannequin depicts Radha Kissen Mitter of Calcutta ca. 1835. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

One of many 'curiosities' imported from India on board Salem's ships. According to Indian mythology, the goddess Durga was created by the anger of the gods at their defeat by the demons. This image shows the goddess mounted on her lion, destroying the king of the demons in a lengthy battle. The king, according to the myth, took many forms during the battle, including the elephant depicted here. Currently exhibited in 'Yankee Traders and East India Merchants 1785-1865,' an exhibit at the Peabody Museum of Salem. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

Crowninshield or 'India Wharf'—George Crowninshield, one of Salem's most successful merchants in the India trade, constructed a wharf between 1798 and 1802 to accommodate the ship *America*. By 1802, 'India Wharf,' as Crowninshield called it, was one of the most imposing and prosperous wharves in Salem. Several Crowninshield vessels are shown at the wharf in this oil by G. Ropes, dated 1806. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

Cornwallis in India and the American Experience

FRANKLIN B. WICKWIRE

CHARLES, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis Cornwallis, achieved a remarkable career of public service. He is probably best known to English-speaking people as the general who surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown, and thus lost the British their American colonies. Yet Yorktown was his first, and only, fiasco. He was the only important general to emerge with reputation unscathed by the anguish of the American Revolution, and to move on from it to positions of greater trust than he had ever enjoyed in his southern campaigning in the United States.

Cornwallis was born to the privileges of the aristocracy, and although his family was not so wealthy as many in a similar station, he grew up riding across broad acres, enjoying private tutoring, a taste of the English Public School, and the grand tour. At first a soldier, then a soldier-statesman-administrator-diplomat, he began his career with a crashing failure, but afterwards enjoyed spectacular success. After losing America at Yorktown in 1781, he became governor general and commander-in-chief in British India in 1786, where he remained until 1793, enacting changes in the administration, tax collection, and laws of Bengal, and defeating Tipoo, Sultan of Mysore, and annexing for the East India Company nearly half the sultan's territory. After that, he served as master general of the ordnance from 1795 to 1798, and then over to Ireland as lord lieutenant and commander-in-chief until 1801. He put down the last vestiges of rebellion given the romantic name rising of the moon, beat a French army in Ireland, and pushed through its parliament an act of union with Britain. He negotiated the only peace Britain enjoyed with France between 1793 and 1815, the peace of Amiens in 1802, and finally returned to India, where he died in 1805. During that long, fruitful career, Cornwallis acquired the reputation of a reliable, noble, administrative workhorse.[1]

He worked the hardest in, and had the most impact on, India. Indeed, largely because of Cornwallis, the India where he died differed significantly from the India he first reached in 1786. His achievements there, and the American experience in India generally, present an interesting, sometimes fascinating, and also frustrating challenge to the scholar. In some ways one may discern, from Cornwallis' own remarks and references to America, precisely how some of his experiences there shaped his vision: one can see what he learned from mistakes made there, and what steps he took to avoid similar errors in India. Most of his comments in that vein referred, naturally enough, to his military operations, and he talked of America and what it taught him when he fought with Tipoo in the early 1790s. The relation of America to India in military terms, however, involved more than Cornwallis' having learned some lessons from his defeat in the United States. Some of the same regiments with which he had served in America he also commanded in India. A subaltern, Roderick Mackenzie, his staunchest defender in America, who detailed his southern campaign in a pamphlet, a work which exalted his leadership there, did the same for him in India, and with even more relish and gusto, devoting two volumes to the Mysore war.[2] Cornwallis also commanded, and at the same time worked with and depended upon many of the most important officers in India with whom he had served in America.

1. For a full account of Cornwallis' career see Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: the American Adventure* (Boston, 1970), and *Cornwallis: the Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill, 1980).

2. See Roderick Mackenzie, *Strictures on Lt. Col. Tarleton's History . . .* (London, 1787) and *A Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun . . . .*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1793).

The military impact of the American Revolution, in terms of the British army and some of its officers who went to serve in India may be clear, but other matters are not so readily measurable. It is difficult to ascertain, and I have certainly not found evidence, that he thought much at all about America when he dictated the controversial permanent settlement. So far as I can tell, that measure resulted from his previous study of India and its challenges combined with—and this consideration was the most important—the nearly unanimous recommendation of all the company officials with whom he consulted. These officials had served their apprenticeships in India, not America. Similarly, his changes in the judicial system; his recommendations with regard to appointments; his sponsoring of various exploring expeditions; his commercial arrangements, his attempts to refashion British society in India: all seemed to come from his experience in India rather than from his experience in America.

When one has said that, however, one has not gone far enough, for the simple reason that some of the people with whom he served in a military capacity in America worked in a civil and military capacity in India as well, and had woven around them a tangled skein of Indian-American coincidences. Perhaps the outstanding example was Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell commanded the 71st Regiment and fought under Cornwallis when Cornwallis served under Clinton during campaigning in the north in the earlier years of the Revolution. Clinton had chosen Campbell to lead the expedition to take Savannah, Georgia, and Campbell had done so, performing admirably. Thus in America, Campbell, like Cornwallis, had acquired a semi-independent command in the South. Campbell's 71st Regiment later formed part of Cornwallis' army in the South (although Campbell had left it by then). At one time its officers who were serving there drew up a remonstrance they presented to Cornwallis protesting the leadership of Brigadier General Banastre Tarleton.[3] After the war Tarleton published his own account of the campaigning in the South. In it he criticized Cornwallis severely.[4] Why? The British adjutant general, Sir William Faucitt, thought he knew. He commented that 'some people think this unexpected essay of his to be the malicious effect of his disappointment in not being allowed to accompany your lordship [Cornwallis] to India."[5] Lady Mary Lindsay, of that remarkable family which served in America, India, and much of the empire, lamented to Lady Amelia Campbell, wife of fellow Scot Sir Archibald, that he was not appointed governor of Bengal instead of Cornwallis. Others, by contrast, thought Campbell entirely too favorable to Scots in the appointments he made as governor of Madras.[6]

Campbell, himself, seemed well enough satisfied to serve under Cornwallis, and the two worked very closely together. One may infer from the evidence that Cornwallis took many of his ideas on what charitable reforms to undertake, and how to undertake them, as well as how to shape society generally—balls, theatricals, races, charities, and similar matters—from Lady Campbell. The earl stopped for a week or so in Madras after his landfall on 21 August 1786 to discuss his coming tenure with Sir Archibald, during which time Lady Amelia, as he later acknowledged, made his introduction to Anglo-Indian life a pleasant one. Later they had a lengthy exchange concerning the support Cornwallis gave to the orphan asylum Lady Campbell had set up, and she even sent him two pictures as presents.[7]

Sir Archibald and the earl corresponded frequently, and on about as intimate terms as eighteenth-century formal correspondence allowed, even discussing Campbell's bilious complaints, and other matters of his ill-health, an ill-health that eventually forced him to retire prematurely.[8] Campbell was about the only person in India who could address Cornwallis as 'my dear lord,' and their frank exchanges concerned all sorts of matters. Both equally cursed the shortsighted policies of the directors in regard to patronage. Campbell certainly influenced Cornwallis in the military line. Sir Archibald helped formulate the military reforms which Cornwallis attempted, as the earl acknowl-

3. Charles Stedman, *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War*, 2 vols., vol. II (Dublin, 1794), 432n.

4. See Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787).

5. Faucitt to Cornwallis, 7 March 1787: Public Record Office, 30/11/138, ff. 59-60.

6. Lady Mary Lindsay to Lady Amelia Campbell, 20 March 1786, National Library of Scotland, Ms 2903, ff. 41-43; and Thomas Phipps to Warren Hastings, 22 Feb. 1788. British Library, Additional Manuscripts 29, 171, vol. 40, f. 131b.

7. Lady Amelia Campbell to Cornwallis, 21 Feb. 1787, PRO 30/11/14, ff. 20-21.

8. Cornwallis to Campbell, 8 June 1788, PRO 30/11/159, ff. 133-34.

edged.[9] Both of them believed, from the very beginning of Cornwallis' tenure, that the company would have to fight a war with Tipoo eventually, and Campbell worked out an elaborate set of contingency plans for the inevitable confrontation.[10]

Campbell could not stay around to help implement the plans when war actually did erupt in 1789. Illness forced his retirement. He left India with only one regret: 'being removed from a Situation which enabled me to co-operate with your Lordship in all your Measures, and which have happily prospered under your distinguished administration.' For his part, Cornwallis consistently praised his subordinate, using such words as a man 'of great worth and ability, of the most perfect uprightness and integrity,' who served the company 'with a zeal and assiduity which they must not often expect to meet with.'[11] The American connection had worked clearly, and well, in the case of these two, in India.

Cornwallis was fortunate in Campbell's retirement in the sense that the earl—a military man to the core—eventually got a chance personally to direct the war against Tipoo. Sir Archibald's departure was unfortunate in another sense, in that it left the initial campaigning to his successor, Sir William Medows, who would waste lives and money in a fruitless, almost pointless operation. Medows, also, was another American veteran. Like Campbell, he had served with Cornwallis during the northern campaigns. And like Campbell he had served directly under Cornwallis. Sir William, in fact, had commanded the 1st Grenadier Battalion, part of the left wing of Howe's army which Cornwallis led in a brilliant flanking attack that routed Washington at the battle of Brandywine in 1777.[12] Later, Medows commanded the brigade which repulsed the French at St. Lucia. In India, both Cornwallis and his fellow officers, having either witnessed his leadership personally or heard of his reputation, esteemed him highly.

For that reason, and because Sir William had succeeded Sir Archibald at Madras, which lay much closer to Mysore than Calcutta, Cornwallis felt he had to give Medows his chance. 'As I could not with propriety supersede him in his Government,' he told yet another soldier who had served in America and would become governor general of India, Francis, Lord Rawdon, 'I have been obliged, "tho" not without regret, to relinquish the conduct of the war, and content myself with the more humble station of Commissary of Supplies."[13] One can sympathize with the earl's view, his desire to be fair, but it resulted in misfortune. Medows concocted a complex plan of attack which required coordination of three different armies advancing from three different directions on Mysore. Cornwallis distrusted the scheme and told Medows that approaching Mysore from the south seemed 'very like our going round by the head of Elke, to conquer America, and I do not think our success on that occasion gives much encouragement.' Medows, also, in the earl's view, stockpiled too many provisions of all sorts before departing. To collect them required so much time and would result in such a heavily-laden army that it would start too late and move too slowly. Perhaps it would not even get through the passes into Mysore before the monsoons halted further advance. 'I must own that this amazing proviant train,' he observed, 'puts me in mind of the unfortunate and ruinous system which we pursued in America, when we thought it necessary to carry as much provisions with us through the fertile plains of Pennsylvania, as if we had been to march from Aleppo to Bussorah.' As the campaign progressed, Medows continued making mistakes, errors remarkably similar to the ones Cornwallis himself had committed in his southern campaigning. To quote myself: 'Medows did not keep enough men under his own command, did not procure adequate intelligence, and did not use his allies effectively.' The earl reminded his general particularly of the most dangerous of these errors: 'You have as well as myself so often seen the ill effects of hazarding small detachments and being beat in detail.'[14]

9. Campbell's proposals of 10 Nov. 1786 in NLS Ms 3837; Cornwallis to Henry Dundas, 14 Aug. 1787, and to the Court of Directors, 18 Aug. 1787, in Charles Ross, ed., *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 3 vols. (London, 1859), vol. 1, pp. 218, 532.

10. For a discussion of these measures see Wickwire and Wickwire, *Cornwallis: Imperial Years*, pp. 126-27.

11. Campbell to Cornwallis, 6 Feb. 1789: PRO 30/11/119, ff. 143-44; Cornwallis to John Motteux, 16 Dec. 1787 and to Lord Sydney 7 Jan. 1788: *Cornwallis Corr.* vol. 1, pp. 319, 322. Campbell's life is outlined in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

12. The most vivid, most detailed account of this maneuver by an eyewitness is surprisingly a German one. See Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War*, transl. and ed., Joseph P. Tustin (New Haven, 1979), pp. 71-87. *DNB* does not contain a biography of Medows. One must compile his record from various sources.

13. Cornwallis to Rawdon, 14 Feb. 1790, PRO 30/11/186, ff. 5-6.

14. Wickwire and Wickwire, *Cornwallis: Imperial Years*, pp. 134-35 give these quotations and cite the sources for them.

Cornwallis' fears proved all too justified, and Medows' campaign failed miserably. Tipoo came close to bagging one third of Sir William's army, totally defeated one portion of it, capturing six guns, and managed to plunder the entire Carnatic. After that debacle, Cornwallis reluctantly but firmly dismissed Medows, and journeyed to Madras in December of 1790 to assume personal command.

The campaigning that followed was prolonged and bitter, but ended with a company victory. That victory, it seems clear, owed to two important factors: the governor general kept in mind the mistakes the lieutenant general had made in America in his southern campaigning and determined to avoid them, and at the same time learned through the harsh realities of Indian campaigning what he had to do in India, what positive steps he needed to take, to avoid the pitfalls that had beset him in South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia. It took him almost a year to acquire the sort of force and organization necessary to ultimate success, but he persevered until he did so.

Two lessons America had taught him were: (1) that the most reliable force was his regular infantry, not his provincials (which the Sepoys in India would roughly approximate), nor his allies (to which loyalist militia in America compared roughly); and (2) that in any campaign which required a small army to operate semi-independently of the main one, that small army should always be large enough and strong enough to stand on its own, to avoid being beaten in detail. Those two principles governed his operations from the beginning, and he acted upon them accordingly. The heart of the force which he assembled at Velhout in January of 1791 consisted of six British regiments of infantry. One of them, the 71st, was a veteran of some of the fiercest fighting in North America. It had formed a part of the army which Cornwallis had earlier led during his southern campaign. Another regiment, the 73rd, although raised specifically for Indian service, was formed from the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Foot, the famous Black Watch, which had served in America during the Seven Years' War as well as the Revolutionary War, always in the thickest of the fighting. Significantly, he sent the 73rd to reinforce his subordinate, Brigadier General Robert Abercrombie, whom he ordered to lead an army from Bombay to attack Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, from the west, while Cornwallis moved on it from the east. America must have influenced Cornwallis' reinforcing Abercrombie. Twice during his southern operations Cornwallis had detached subordinates to lead small forces to cooperate with his main army, and twice Americans had defeated these forces, wrecking his plans. Major Patrick Ferguson's defeat and death at King's Mountain in October of 1780 had smashed Cornwallis' hopes to advance into North Carolina and consolidate British rule there. Colonel Banastre Tarleton's defeat at Cowpens on 17 January 1781 had at a stroke deprived Cornwallis of his light infantry, and destroyed his entire strategy for victory in the South. But Cornwallis had never trusted Ferguson or Tarleton entirely, and he had had to make do with the people Clinton, his superior officer, had given him. In Robert Abercrombie, however, the earl invested complete trust. Abercrombie had been his most valuable subordinate in the last months in Virginia, and during the agony of those last days on the peninsula between the James and York rivers. Younger brother of the more famous Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who would later defeat the French in Egypt, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercrombie had led Cornwallis' final, desperate counterattack against the Franco-American forces besieging him at Yorktown in 1781. Abercrombie had gone on to become governor and commander-in-chief at Bombay, and would, after Cornwallis left, command all the British and company forces in India. In the war against Tipoo, Abercrombie would cooperate fully and well, bringing his army of around 7,000 men to Seringapatam to help in its reduction. Abercrombie, unlike Ferguson and Tarleton, was never beaten 'in detail.'[15]

15. Cornwallis' own 33rd Regiment, of which he was colonel, had left India earlier, but many of its enlisted men had remained behind to serve in other regiments. See Sir William Faucitt, adjutant general, to Cornwallis, 7 March 1787: PRO 30/11/138, ff. 59-60. Wellington, interestingly enough, later led the 33rd in the field as its lieutenant colonel. The six regiments Cornwallis took to Velhout were the 36th, 52nd, 71st, 72nd, 76th, and 77th. There are several sources for the history of these regiments and their services in India. See particularly, *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, LIII, An Alphabetical Guide to Certain War Office and other Military Records Preserved in the Public Record Office*, vols. 1-56, London, 1892-1936, a marvelous guide to the history of the regular British army. Volume 13 is most important for this paper. Several key letters point out the necessity for shifting the 73rd to Abercrombie. See particularly Cornwallis to Abercrombie, 17 Dec. 1790, PRO 30/11/181, ff. 2-3. Other important documents dealing with the regiments include Sir George Yonge, secretary at war, to Cornwallis 26 July 1787: PRO 30/11/18, ff. 668-69; same to same, 30 July 1792, PRO 30/11/53, ff. 279-80; PRO War Office 4/297, out letter to colonels commanding regiments in India, 23 Mar. 1791, p. 361. Parliament required the East India Company to pay for these troops. Charles Jenkinson,

The regulars and Sepoys of Cornwallis' main force which marched to Seringapatam and forced Tipoo's surrender in early 1792 numbered only about 15,000 men, with somewhere around 60,000 camp followers. Additionally, Cornwallis made alliances with the Mahrattas—those fierce horsemen of the central plains of India—and with the Nizam of Hyderabad. These allies presented Cornwallis with challenges similar to those the loyalists had offered earlier in America. He hoped they would help him in India, as he had hoped the loyalists would help him in the southern United States. But in what way? The first task he had to impose upon himself was to find some sort of way to use them in conjunction with his main army. Secondly, he hoped they might help supply his needs, and he also hoped they could procure intelligence for him, give him information on Tipoo's forces, his defenses, and conditions generally in his capital.

Unfortunately, most of Cornwallis' hopes went unfulfilled. But he did manage to come to a working arrangement with the allies, benefitted from Mahratta supplies at one time and then managed to supply himself and the Hyderabad forces as well, and to create on his own, even without their help, an adequate intelligence system. That he achieved these measures in India, where he had failed to accomplish similar goals in America, contributed importantly to his ultimate success in India.

Cornwallis never managed to get the slightest help from the Hyderabad people, and he never did use them effectively in conjunction with his main army. But he did manage, finally, to keep them out of his way for his last campaign. He stockpiled a huge accumulation of supplies at Bangalore. The forces of the Nizam, perhaps 22,000 horsemen, whom one observer described as appearing 'like montebanks tilting their weapons in the air, as at a joust or tournament,' and another as a 'disorderly rabble' who resembled 'more than any other scene I ever witnessed, an Irish fair after the commencement of a quarrel,' stuck to the town like glue.[16] At least while they feasted themselves at Bangalore they could not hinder or disrupt his operations at Seringapatam. The earl did slightly better with the Mahrattas. Smarter, fiercer, and more independent in supplies than the Hyderabad cavalry, the Mahrattas drew some of Tipoo's men away from his capital with their incessant raids. Cornwallis even inveigled some of the Mahrattas into protecting his supply trains.

Generally, in the matter of supply trains and supplies, Cornwallis overcame monumental difficulties. At one time, during the earlier stages of his operations, he had to lift the siege of Seringapatam because he had run out of provisions. He got some soon from the Mahrattas, but they had not joined him. In addition, because of poor intelligence he had not known of their whereabouts until after he had dumped his siege artillery. Moving back to Bangalore to regroup his army and reprovision it, he called upon all the resources of British India to meet his needs. His supreme authority as governor and commander-in-chief enabled him to do so. The results, which he achieved, stagger the imagination. On the final march from Bangalore to Seringapatam, perhaps 385,000 people accompanied the 15,000 who would do the actual fighting. To carry the equipment and provisions, and as a source of food, perhaps 50,000 cattle went with the army. Thousands of sheep also trod with it, as well as perhaps 10,000 camels and 3,000 elephants. The elephants proved extremely valuable in hauling the siege artillery, and Cornwallis was the first British general to use them on a large scale for such a purpose. He employed as many as 50,000 men to carry bags of rice, the staple of the Hindu Sepoys. The Mahrattas, with him and his own cavalry, brought the number of horses to 60,000, perhaps as high as 80,000. The siege artillery helped reduce the hill forts between Bangalore and Seringapatam, so his force could emerge unobstructed in front or behind from the jungle onto the plains about seven miles from Seringapatam on the morning of 1 February 1792. It must have presented an awesome sight.[17]

When that army did emerge, Cornwallis knew approximately the size, disposition, and fighting qualities of his enemy. He would not have been so well informed earlier. Indeed, his military intelligence during his first years in India had been laughable. It had resembled

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Secretary at War, to officers commanding in India, 5 Nov. 1781, PRO WO 4/115, pp. 109-10. In addition to his regular regiments of foot, Cornwallis also commanded one regular regiment of dragoons, the 19th, first formed in India in 1781. Abercrombie is in *DNB*. Although he spelled his name Abercrombie, *DNB* spells it Abercromby. Although the adjutant general spelled his name Faucitt, *DNB* spells it Fawcett.

16. Mackenzie, *Sketch of the War*, vol. II, p. 57; extract of a letter from Bangalore, 24 Jan. 1792, *Calcutta Gazette*, vol. 16, no. 416, 6 Feb. 1792.

17. For the effort and imagination Cornwallis applied to provisioning himself and his allies, see Wickwire and Wickwire, *Cornwallis: Imperial Years*, chaps. 7 and 8.

the fairy tales told him in South Carolina. He at one time remarked there: 'Our friends hereabouts are so timid and so stupid that I can get no intelligence.' A typical report ran: 'I went as far as Fishing Creek, & there Billy McDaniel's wife told me that she saw Dicky Thomson who said he saw young Tommy Rigdom that just came from camps &c &c. No offer can prevail upon any man I can find to go & see . . . with his own eyes.' Typical of the earl's sources was a loyalist who called another man a rebel because he had stolen from the loyalist some rum, brandy, and horses.[18] One may set that against initial accounts of Tipoo before Cornwallis actually started his army marching. A report in 1789 credited Tipoo with an army of 153,000 (he actually had little over half that), another gave him 2,000 pieces of artillery, and yet a third had vessels loading up all over Europe with supplies for him. Cornwallis commented wryly that British officers 'got into the habit of transmitting foolish and incredible reports as actual intelligence.' One officer in the course of three weeks 'conjured up no less than three armies of from twenty to forty thousand men, and although a moment's reflection must have convinced him of the impossibility of their existence [he] has acted in every respect as if he had really thought them to be where they were reported.'[19] He got no better intelligence from his allies, so he had to fashion a service for himself. He did so with reasonable success. By the early weeks of January 1792 he received frequent reports on Tipoo's strength and works under construction. Although not all of them were accurate, they were far superior to anything he got in South Carolina. He even acquired a fair map of the outer works of Seringapatam and accurate estimates of their size and strength.[20]

Having solved the problems of allies, supplies, and intelligence, Cornwallis had little trouble beating his enemy. The earl was not a brilliant general, but he was a good one, and better than most. His entire military career, from the sharp fights in Europe during the Seven Years' War, to the bloody struggle on the battlefields of North America, to the plains of India, to the bogs of Ireland showed him at his best in battle. In fact he never once lost a battle in which he personally commanded in the field. Once Cornwallis had mastered his logistical problems (although logistics was not then a term in use) Cornwallis trounced his foe swiftly. He surrounded his capital, besieged it, and forced Tipoo's surrender. The ruler of Mysore had many fine qualities, but as a tactician he could not measure up to Cornwallis.

The earl's victory added nearly half of Mysore to the company territory and enriched its coffers by some £3,000,000 as well, the monetary price the Sultan had to pay for losing. The treaty left Mysore almost surrounded by British territory. The American experience, the lessons learned there, and several of the men who had fought in America, contributed to this significant event. The biographer, Elizabeth Longford, has derided the notion that the Duke of Wellington ever said the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, one of the most famous phrases credited to him. But whether or not he said it, one could make an even better case that the defeat of Mysore and the British annexation of its territory owed to the British experience in the fields and forests of North America.[21]

Perhaps that experience also had an even greater result than enlarging the empire in India. In a sense it may have shaped importantly the nature of most of the future British administrations there. Throughout his entire service in North America, Cornwallis never held supreme command. He often led the British advance under Sir William Howe, but was always subject to Howe's orders, which sometimes forced him to move more slowly than he might have wished in pursuit of George Washington. Although in the South he held a semi-independent command, he was ultimately responsible to Sir Henry Clinton. Although one cannot blame Clinton for Cornwallis' failure in the Carolinas, Sir Henry must share the blame for the earl's surrender at Yorktown. Once Cornwallis got to Virginia he again came under Clinton's orders. Those orders sent him to the peninsula between the York and James rivers, and eventually contributed to his defeat.

One supreme lesson Cornwallis learned from that experience, and one he never forgot, was that if the

18. Cornwallis to Rawdon, 16 Nov. 1780, PRO 30/11/82, ff. 53-54, and David George to Cornwallis, 30 Dec. 1780, PRO 30/11/66, ff. 44-45.

19. J. Collins to Alexander Ross, 29 Oct. 1787, PRO 30/11/20, ff. 54-55; memorandum of Alexander Dirom, 25 July 1790: PRO 30/11/35, ff. 58-59; Dirom to Ross, 28 Jan. 1790: PRO 30/11/34, ff. 43-44; and Cornwallis to ?, 4 Nov. 1791, PRO 30/11/128, ff. 127-28.

20. See among the many intelligence papers PRO 30/11/47, ff. 40-41, Cornwallis to directors, 4 Mar. 1792, *Cornwallis Corr.*, vol. II, p. 533; and PRO 30/11/47, ff. 36-37.

21. Elizabeth Longford, *Wellington: The Years of the Sword* (New York, 1969), pp. 16-17.

British government intended him to act in its interests in the British Empire, that government must invest him with the supreme authority wherever he went. He would own no superior save the prime minister and the cabinet. Cornwallis, although he loved his family, was a restless individual, always anxious to move on to new challenges. In part that restlessness owed to his financial circumstances. Not wealthy as measured by the standards of his peers, he needed positions which paid well. But he refused to take up William Pitt's offer in 1784 to have either the civil or the military command in India, even though he could use the money. Not until Pitt gave him both the civil and military command in 1786 would he accept the offer, and he demanded and got the same power later when he went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant and commander-in-chief.

By insisting on supreme civil and military power, by virtue of his being a peer, and because he had no previous connection with India, Cornwallis managed to effect several significant changes in the commercial policy, the judicial system, the tax structure, and much else in India. He set an example that the British thereafter, for most of the time, followed. From the time of Charles, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquis Cornwallis to the last British viceroy, Louis Mountbatten, 1st Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the British usually chose as governor generals of India men from aristocratic, landed families, often with military backgrounds, whose status in society was already so high that they could lead, unchallenged, their countrymen and their subjects in India. Seen in that light, the American experience affected India profoundly.

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The Empress of China's Voyage, 1784-1785

PHILIP CHADWICK FOSTER SMITH

THE year 1984 marked the two hundredth anniversary since the beginning of the United States' trade with China.

With it materialized a plethora of exhibitions mounted to commemorate the occasion, among them shows at the Museum of Natural History in New York City, the New-York Historical Society, the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C., the Philadelphia Museum of Art in association with the Philadelphia Maritime Museum, and the High Museum of Art in Atlanta. Others in Baltimore, Maryland, and Salem, Massachusetts, have been scheduled for 1985, while no doubt, further observances of the early China Trade days will extend at least into 1986. For it was in 1786 when Major Samuel Shaw, the principal supercargo aboard the *Empress of China* in 1784-1785, returned to the Orient and became America's first (honorary) consul in Canton.

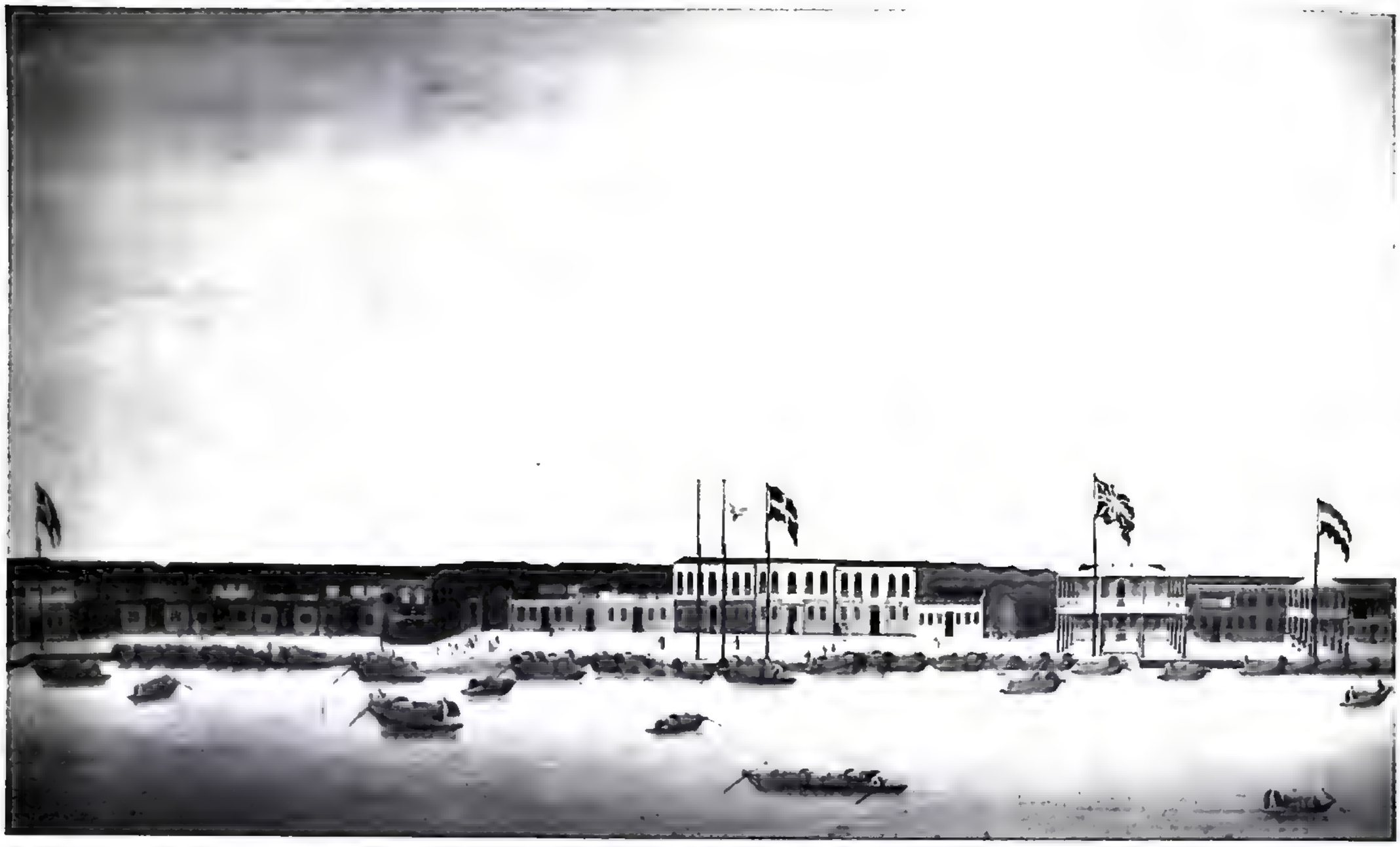
That so many exhibitions dealing with Chinese trade and culture could survive public patience, and indeed whet its appetite for even more, is an extraordinary demonstration of the hold they exercise over the popular imagination. It would be difficult to single out another historic trade or subject of collecting that seems to generate such widespread fascination. Most collectors and scholars tend to specialize. Each, for instance, tends primarily to be a student of the decorative arts or of the fine arts or of folk art or ephemera or of some other relatively narrow discipline. Yet, nearly all will add to the résumé of their intellectual interests, if not necessarily of their collecting interests, the productions of ancient and old China.

It will be interesting to see what, if anything, happens in 1985. The eleventh of May will be the two hundredth anniversary of the *Empress of China*'s return to the United States. Throughout the China Trade observances of 1984, nevertheless, I was especially struck by two non-events.

The first was that my book about the *Empress of China* was the only one on the subject to be published. It is astonishing enough that no twentieth-century full-scale volume on that initial American voyage to China had been written previously. Not to find one or two other competitive works on the market more or less concurrently with my own came as a genuine surprise.

The second startling fact was that more was not made of the China Trade anniversary by President Reagan and the American press corps during his spring 1984 visit to the People's Republic. The omission was not due to ignorance. The White House speech writers had a copy of the *Empress of China* book and talked with me three times about specific details in it. Several of us working together earlier, furthermore, had been able to arrange a Presidential Proclamation for the China Institute of America's 22 February 1984 ceremonies aboard the *Peking* at South Street Seaport, commemorating the anniversary of the *Empress of China*'s departure for Canton. Little hay seems to have been made at either time by the media (except in one or two of New York City's Chinese language newspapers) during what should have been a golden opportunity to capitalize upon the historic connection between the New World and the Orient.

On 28 August 1984, however—the bicentenniary of the *Empress of China*'s arrival at Whampoa Reach, below Canton—a copy of the book was presented to officials in Peking by a delegation of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, led by the Reverend Fred Cloud of Nashville, who, with United States



Canton about 1760. (Photo by Mark Sexton. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

Ambassador Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., addressed the ceremony participants.

In Canton (Guangzhou) that same day, United States Consul John E. Lundin made available for presentation his personal copy of the book to the Guangdong Province branch of the Chinese Friendship Association. This gathering was addressed by Consul General Wever Gim, who noted at the beginning of his speech that 'Premier Zhao Ziyang noted in January in his arrival speech at Washington, D.C., that the *Empress of China* holds a historic place in the initiation of the U.S.-China trade.' In conclusion, he remarked, 'I take special pleasure in presenting to the Friendship Association a book published this year by the Philadelphia Maritime Museum documenting that historic voyage of the *Empress of China*. I also want to point out that this is a special copy of the book. It has been signed by the author . . . on the 200th anniversary of the ship's departure from New York harbor—February 22, 1984—and I have signed it today to mark its arrival at Guangzhou. May this mark the beginning of an even greater era in our commercial relations.'

Among the persons in attendance was Cai Hongsheng, an assistant professor at Canton's Sun Yatsen University. From him, I eventually received a letter in which he revealed that he had heard of the book at the ceremony and hoped that I would send him a copy.

Of course, I did. His acknowledgement expressed gratitude for a text which enabled him to comprehend the basic mechanisms of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade with the West, which, hitherto, he and his colleagues had not well understood. He concluded by requesting information on Salem's Captain Solomon Towne. Why, I do not know, but I sent him what data I had or could discover.

It may seem extraordinary to us, after all the major works on the China Trade published in the West during the last century, that current Chinese scholars could be ignorant of its intricacies. However, we must not forget the book burnings and anti-intellectual purges of the late Cultural Revolution and that a new scholarly community is now arising in the People's Republic of China. As Fred Cloud remarked to me over lunch in Nashville not long ago, the Chinese

crave books to replace and supplement those that have been lost during the social vicissitudes of the past generation.

If Consul General Wever Gim hoped that his presentation would contribute towards a greater commercial relationship between the United States and China, it is my own hope that such exchanges will bring about a friendly cooperation between their historians.

The preliminary exchange of correspondence with Professor Cai, which I hope will continue and enlarge, to my way of thinking makes the writing of *The Empress of China* worthwhile. We—especially those of us connected with the historic China Trade ports of the East Coast of the United States—still have much to learn, because our perspective of the trade has not only been one-sided and myopic but also parochial in the extreme.

As someone with Salem, Massachusetts, sea captain/ship-owning forbears involved in the old China Trade—one of whom was a vice-consul at Kiukiang and a professional tea taster—and as heir to a family fantasy that, to the Chinese, Salem and the United States were synonymous, it was fascinating and somewhat disconcerting during a five-year residence in Philadelphia, to be forced into an admission that Salem and Boston—even New York—were not alone at the forefront of the Oriental trades. The fact is that to most of the residents of the Delaware Valley, Salem is a place in New Jersey with a nuclear power plant. Salem, Massachusetts, if known at all, elicits an image or two of witches and broomsticks but little or nothing else.

One reviewer of *The Empress of China* chided me for not having made use of a 1958 University of Chicago master's thesis by An-Yung Sung, which translated a portion of Liang Chia-pin's 1937 work, *Kuan-tung shih-san-hang kao (A Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Juan-tung)*.

I readily admit the failure in research and must therefore emphasize it, although I am not altogether sure what that study might have added to the text. The point is, however, that it is the access to Chinese sources and contact with such individuals as Professor Cai which may eventually enable Western scholars to round out their interpretations of the trade. Any measures designed to further that goal should be embraced and encouraged whenever possible.

It is a complete mystery to me why so few interpretations of the old China Trade, exhibition catalogues aside, appeared during the anniversary year. The *Empress of China* book was undertaken for two reasons: the Philadelphia Maritime Museum had been able in 1981 to acquire from descendents the papers of her captain, Philadelphia's John Green; and plans had been afoot by that museum for several years to mount a concurrent and symbiotic exhibition with the Philadelphia Museum of Art on Philadelphia's extensive, although relatively unrecognized, participation in the early China Trade. The Museum of Art would do the exhibition catalogue; we at the Philadelphia Maritime Museum would produce the book.

From the point of view of research, a careful reading of the earlier literature provided many of the major elements: Samuel Shaw's journal had been published in the nineteenth century; John Green's journal had been published in *The American Neptune* during the 1950s; and Clarence L. Ver Steeg's pioneering article, 'Financing and Outfitting the First United States Ship to China,' in the *Pacific Historical Review*, 1953, demonstrated the importance of the John Holker Papers, which later investigation disclosed to be scattered in four or five separate archives, the greatest number of which were in the Library of Congress. The task, then, was to flesh out the framework with other material neither yet recognized for what it was nor thrown into the pool of available information.

The *Empress of China* may be claimed, to varying degrees, by three North American ports: by Boston, the region of her building in 1783; by Philadelphia, whence derived the overwhelming proportion of her financing and officer corps; and by New York, from which place she sailed and returned.

Despite romantic notions to the contrary, her departure on Washington's Birthday in 1784 had nothing to do with the celebration of His Excellency's fifty-second birthday. She cleared for sea when she did simply because it was the first opportunity in nearly a month to get out of the harbor. The winter of 1783-1784 proved to be one of the coldest of the era. New York harbor was frozen solid from late January until late February; in contrast, the Delaware River at Philadelphia iced over the day after Christmas 1783 and remained impassable until nearly mid-March 1784, by which time an American China trader would have had to be well on her way if she were to reach the South China Sea in season to work favorable monsoons and to fetch Canton in time to sell her cargo to advantage.

Duer, merely because he has at present no prospect more promising.'

At almost the same time, Duer, by reason of illness, discontent with the altered complexion of the plan, and hurt feelings from alleged slights from Robert Morris, also declined to make the China trip. 'The state of my affairs and that of a young family,' he complained to John Holker, 'will not justify me in adding a dangerous experiment in navigation, to one of commerce.'

So far it has not been discovered what set of circumstances or whose voice finally induced Samuel Shaw to change his mind, but by Christmas 1783, anticipating the fruition of terms promising 'something clever,' he resolved to go along as chief supercargo. Thomas Randall, as before, would accompany the ship as second supercargo. For Shaw, one suspects the urgings of Henry Knox and the assurances of Morris and Holker. Randall would have been delighted at the prospect of having his old friend Shaw join him.

Daniel Parker, who as will presently be seen should never have been listened to or entrusted with any aspect of the business, was agitating for the appointment of the *Empress of China*'s commanding officer. His preference for the ship was Captain James Nicholson, senior ranking officer of the Continental Navy, but Nicholson was not chosen for that honor and was given, instead, command of another vessel owned by Daniel Parker & Company. The choice of appointment seems actually to have been dictated by Robert Morris. He preferred Captain John Green of Philadelphia, then at the verge of transferring himself and family to the banks of Neshamminy Creek in Bucks County. Before the war, Green had been in Morris's employ as a shipmaster for Willing & Morris and had proven his abilities during a tenure with the firm of a dozen years. Known performance, in Morris's eyes, rather than Green's relatively low seniority as a captain in the Continental Navy, made all the difference.

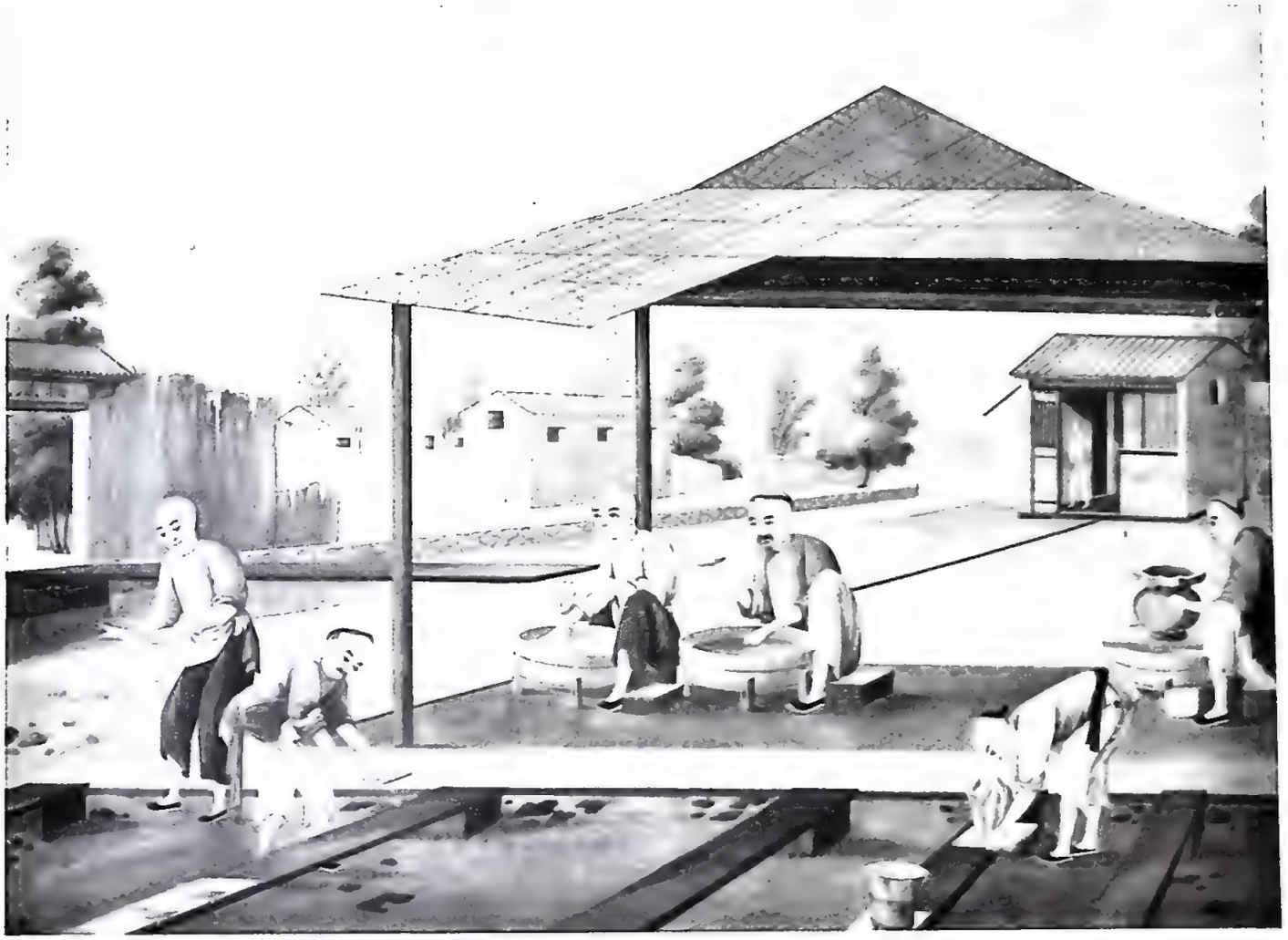
During the autumn and early winter of 1783-1784, while Captain Green shuttled twice between Philadelphia and Boston to sit on courts-martial of fellow officers—and, simultaneously, keeping an eye on the progress of outfitting the *Empress of China* in Boston—the remote mountainous regions of western Pennsylvania and Virginia were being scoured for a cargo. The person in charge of the quest was Robert Johnston, born near Greencastle, Pennsylvania, and a 1770 graduate of the College of Philadelphia (the University of Pennsylvania). His medical education completed in England, he returned to the colonies and set up a practice in the Conococheague Valley of Pennsylvania until the Revolution propelled him to the post of Surgeon of the Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion and, towards its conclusion, looking after the American wounded in the British prisoner-of-war hospital in Charleston, South Carolina.

The cargo sought by Dr. Johnston was thirty tons of Appalachian ginseng root, one of the few natural resources of North America, other than furs, in demand by the Chinese, who considered ginseng to be a medical panacea and aphrodisiac without peer.

And how did Dr. Robert Johnston come to be selected as the *Empress of China*'s surgeon? No one yet knows for sure, but the scenario may have gone as follows: First, he had been selected by the Philadelphia mercantile house of Turnbull, Marmie & Company, to undertake the arduous journeys into the wilderness in search of the root. Robert Morris was aligned with Turnbull, Marmie as one of the 'Company' as John Holker also was. One must suppose that Dr. Johnston's gruelling, yet successful, missions into the back country so impressed the two principal financial backers that they urged the surgeon's berth upon him and, in a spirit of adventure with perhaps nothing better to do, he accepted.

Daniel Parker, it will be recalled, was in partnership with Duer and Holker as Daniel Parker & Company. He was anything but an admirable character. His conduct had a great deal to do with the final outcome of the voyage as well as the personal fortunes of nearly everyone concerned with the venture.

Although signals of his perfidious behavior were everywhere in evidence during the autumnal and early-winter preparations for sailing, no one seems to have picked them up, or if they did, they blindly accepted Parker's good faith and failed to investigate. Finally, in early summer 1784, while the *Empress of China* was thrashing her way eastward through the Indian Ocean, the truth came out. Daniel Parker had consciously and consistently falsified the company books. In July 1784, he fled the country for long-term sanctuary in Great Britain, Holland, and France, leaving John Holker holding the company's financial bag and business convolutions so tortured that not only was Holker forced to begin selling out his interest long before the ship returned from China, but also to attempt various



Porcelain manufacture. (Photo by Mark Sexton. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

forms of long-distance negotiation and litigation for the better part of three decades.

And here, I should like to take the opportunity to correct an error in *The Empress of China* book. In it, I stated that Daniel Parker, too, was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. Subsequent research by a modern member of the Society, who was determined to clear the organization's name of association with such a villain, turned up three separate Daniel Parkers, with whom even contemporaries appear to have been confused, as well as convincing documentation that I had unwittingly compounded the situation. The *Empress of China*'s Daniel Parker was not a member of the Society, despite what I thought was irrefutable evidence to the contrary.

Holker had been badly stung by Parker, of that there is no doubt. But wounded even more severely—both in moral reputation and in cash balances—were the two supercargoes, Samuel Shaw and Thomas Randall. The source of their misery was not the same as that which beset John Holker; it was Shaw's misplaced trust in a man he considered his friend as well as his employer. 'There was something in his manners that stilled suspicion to sleep,' he later remarked. 'I had been conversant only with the honest part of mankind and I even omitted taking a receipt or any kind of written voucher for the transactions.'

The transactions had involved the removal by Parker from the vessel, shortly before she sailed, of $2,300 in Spanish silver dollars of the $20,000 in specie on board, without amending the bills of lading. Next to the ginseng, the silver was the single most important medium of trade in the Canton marketplace. Parker had told Shaw that the removal was necessitated by a

promissory note falling due but that the sum would be replaced before the ship sailed. It was not.

When the deficiency became known upon the ship's return to New York, Shaw was held responsible for it, and both supercargoes were denied payment for their services during the voyage. Ultimate litigation, in fact, demanded of Shaw not only full reimbursement for the missing specie but also an additional 100 percent in damages. To the best of my knowledge, when Shaw died at sea at the premature age of forty the controversy had never been settled, and he never had been paid.

Again, in consequence of Parker's orders, both Shaw and Randall found themselves to be in serious difficulties with the other owners as a result of their leasing the ship *Pallas* at Canton.

When the *Empress of China* returned to New York and it was learned that the two supercargoes had arranged for the *Pallas* to carry home an additional $50,000 in teas and other merchandise, the shock waves among the ship's owners were severe. The very persons they had employed to trade in their best interests had undercut the limited North American markets for Oriental products by bringing even more aboard a vessel of their own. The supercargoes had only been following Parker's instructions.

Daniel Parker's willful and unilateral authorization for the supercargoes to engage in private speculations, in conjunction with himself, entirely changed the marketing strategy for the *Empress of China*'s cargo. Originally planned to be sold at public sale, the new circumstances suggested the wisdom of selling it privately, instead. It was a monumental relief to the Philadelphia backers when the *Pallas* put into Baltimore, rather than into the Delaware River, as had been expected, and it was possible to effect greater control over regional sales.

The *Empress of China* experience had much to do with the way in which the China Trade was conducted in future years. Each major port developed its own methods for the collection of outbound cargoes. Salem, Massachusetts, assembled mixed cargoes of New England goods—salt fish, timber, and local products—for exchange en route around the Cape of Good Hope for goods acceptable to the Chinese. Boston favored the opposite route around Cape Horn to trade with the Indians on the Northwest Coast for sea otter pelts before continuing to Canton. New York, as exemplified by the enterprise of John Jacob Astor, chose a similar route at times but also picked its way around the Cape of Good Hope with more eclectic cargoes. Philadelphia used the eastbound route almost exclusively, but frequently doubled the Cape of Good Hope via other ports—Savannah, Liverpool, and others. Many China Trade ports, at one time or another, went a-sealing in the Falkland Islands, and elsewhere, or foraged around the Pacific for sandalwood or edible sea slugs, before entering the Pearl River and the Cantonese entrepot.

The study of the *Empress of China* and her influence upon the early conduct of the trade has by no means been exhausted, and I can only urge interested scholars to pursue the shadows of her pathfinding voyage and eventually bring to it even greater depth than has been possible hitherto. Many principal documentary sources have yet to be unearthed.

The Chinese records have already been mentioned. They await discovery and deep mining. Also yet to be found is a cache of Robert Morris papers which shed a more brilliant light upon his thoughts and actions concerning the voyage. Surprisingly little has been discovered in the massive corpus of known documentation concerning him—my suspicion is that if it still survives it may be found by exhaustive digging in obscure court records involving the litigation surrounding his ultimate bankruptcy and imprisonment for debt.

It seems markedly appropriate to me that the Peabody Museum of Salem, where I formerly spent sixteen years of my life, should now become one of the world centers for the new and enlightened study of the American China Trade. This has been made possible by virtue of its own incomparable collections of China Trade material recently combined with the uncommon holdings of the much respected China Trade Museum, late of Milton, Massachusetts.

There have been times in the past when the two were in active scholarly and collecting competition. But those times are now episodes of a bygone era, and an infinite horizon—clear, sparkling, and limitless—awaits those scholars with the vision and the common sense to discover and put together, without regional prejudice, the pieces that will truly illuminate the historic commercial masterpiece of America's trade with China.

Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, an independent author living in Bath, Maine, as well as editor/historian for the Philadelphia Maritime Museum, was managing editor of The American Neptune *from 1969 through 1979. His book,* The Empress of China, *was a Spring 1984 Book Selection of 'The Magazine* Antiques' *and won a John Lyman Book Award from the North American Society for Oceanic History. Soft cover copies are available from the Philadelphia Maritime Museum; remaining stock of the hard cover edition is being distributed by The University of Pennsylvania Press, which also distributes his latest work,* Philadelphia on the River, *published by the Philadelphia Maritime Museum in January 1986.*

Bridgman in China in the Early Nineteenth Century

FREDERICK W. DRAKE

WHEN Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801-1861), the first American missionary to China, returned to New England in 1852 on the only furlough of his career after more than two decades on the China coast, he was astonished to hear such questions as: 'Have the Chinese any intellect?' 'Is it possible for the foreigner to learn the language of that strange people so as to communicate with them intelligently?'[1] Bridgman discovered that most of the people he met in America found it difficult to believe that the Chinese were endowed with reason and intelligence as real human beings. They were thought of as 'phantoms of some fairy land,' a people neither known nor appreciated by Americans.[2]

For nearly five decades after the *Empress of China*'s visit to China, though a romantic chapter in American maritime history emerged, no American had become adequately informed on China. Some Americans had learned enough of the Chinese language to make life more convenient, but most were content to communicate in pidgin English, concentrating instead on learning how to cope with the highly regulated system of trade in Canton.

On the Chinese side too there had been almost no effort to gain information on the new strangers who now visited their shores. Few Chinese had anything but the slimmest notion of the United States, known simply to the Cantonese who had spied the Stars and Stripes outside the American factory as the 'Flowery Flag Country.' Thus, even as more rapid and dependable maritime communications reduced the geographical distance between the United States and China, when Bridgman arrived at Canton in 1830 the immense gulf of language and culture separating the two nations persisted. But by the time of his visit to the United States in 1852, after twenty-two years in China, Bridgman's scholarly researches in Chinese materials had made him an eminent authority on China, as well as a pioneer in the introduction of information about China to the West. He was particularly disturbed therefore to discover on his visit home to Belchertown, Massachusetts, how little his scholarly labors had affected popular conceptions of China. Of course, he was aware of the influence his work had had on the formation of American foreign policy in East Asia, and he took comfort in the high regard his journal, the *Chinese Repository*, enjoyed among people who had serious interest in China. He was nevertheless surprised and disappointed that most Americans had not been able to follow him intellectually or emotionally across the great gulf that separated America and China.

Bridgman's own passage across that gap had been assisted by a curious combination of Christian fundamentalism and an inquiring mind that respected the accomplishments of the scientific method. The fundamentalist qualities of Bridgman's thought that considered the Bible as revealing God's purposes, that viewed all mankind as equal before its Creator, that looked to Christianity to redeem all humanity and that expected God's influence in history to accomplish this promised redemption, had combined with a modernist impulse that looked to the scientific spirit of the age to bring about a millenarian era of human improvement and peace via education, science, industry, commerce, and acceptance of the 'true religion.' For this vision to be fulfilled, the peoples of the world must

1. Elijah C. Bridgman, 'The Men of China, or Notes Descriptive of the People of the Chinese Empire' (Unpublished manuscript, Amherst College Archive, 1853), vol. VI, p. 1.

2. Bridgman, 'The Men of China,' vol. XIX, p. 1.

come together in amity to join the 'family of nations'; this goal required mutual knowledge.

Therefore it was of supreme importance to Bridgman, the idealist missionary, that Chinese and Americans communicate; this objective required the work of Bridgman, the assiduous scholar, who saw himself as God's agent in bridging the gulf between the West and China through his work as a translator, reporter, publisher, and historian. Missionary aims and the goal of intercultural exchange consequently became intertwined as he and his protestant colleagues on China's coast created a new literature in English and Chinese, which aimed at a marriage between the West and East.

As a result Bridgman led the American discovery of China—not of the maritime passages that would develop into avenues of commercial interchange, but of the broad range of elements that comprised Chinese culture and civilization. Concurrently, the American missionary also aided China's discovery of America and of Western models by making information available in their own language to Chinese readers. In the process, Bridgman and his co-workers helped to create the intellectual foundations that would allow both Americans and Chinese to begin to comprehend the nature of their contracting, modern world.

Passage to China

Though Bridgman early on had been attracted to mission work, he had come to China quite by chance. As the son of a Belchertown farmer in the early nineteenth century, he was exposed to religious revivalism and experienced an intense conversion in 1812. His seriousness of purpose and intellectual curiosity opened him to the appeals of the American mission movement as he read about the heroic exploits of Christian agents sent after 1810 by Boston's American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands, India, Asia Minor, and Greece.[3]

On completion of his classical and theological course work at Amherst College in 1826, he continued his training in theology at Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts, the Congregationalist institution whose students and faculty had lobbied for the founding of the American Board twelve years before. In this pious environment, Bridgman settled into a patched and papered, rat-infested dormitory room to engage in study of the Bible, Hebrew and Greek.[4] Here the young scholar's dedication to improvement of the mind and to education was evident. He viewed the mind as the 'richest treasure' bestowed by God upon mankind. 'These poor bodies are only its transcient [*sic*] habitation. These *must* perish. Not so the *Mind*. That will always live. Then let us cultivate and strive to improve it. Nor must we regard our own minds alone. We must love our neighbors as ourselves.'[5] This respect for the mind remained one of the constant qualities of Bridgman's career, even when years later in China his dedication to learning and the dissemination of secular information brought him in direct conflict with the brethren of the Board in Boston.

During his course of studies at Andover, Bridgman determined to spend his life as a missionary, not however without evincing his father's concern. 'You will, I suppose, care as little about my Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, etc.,' he wrote to his father, 'as I seem to care about your cattle, and sheep, etc. when I am home. So I will say nothing more about Greek and Latin, and sheep and oxen. But, my Father, we have common interests. The *glory of God* and the *Salvation of men* are subjects, which . . . ought to exceed all others.'[6] 'You have your fields before you and know every acre of your land. Not so with me. I shall have to labor I know not where. The world is my field.'[7]

The Board's Prudential Committee promptly approved Bridgman's application in 1829, and by April he accepted an appointment as missionary to the 'heathen,' hoping to go to South America, Greece or Turkey, but offering to accept whatever post was given. On the morning of 23 September, his last day of classes at Andover, the Board delivered its invitation for Bridgman to establish the first American mission in China. The devout New York merchant, David W. C. Olyphant, had offered free passage for a missionary to the Chinese on his next ship to Canton, plus full payment of the mission's first year's expenses. Bridgman accepted with some trepidation and a grandiose sense of Christian duty. 'I tremble at the responsibilities that

3. Belchertown Historical Association (BHA), Bridgman letters, 23 Dec. 1829.

4. BHA, Bridgman to Sister, Lucretia (Andover, 3 Nov. 1826).

5. BHA, Bridgman to Lucretia (Andover, 15 Feb. 1827).

6. BHA, Bridgman to Father (Andover, 25 Dec. 1828).

7. BHA, Bridgman to Father (Andover, 7 July 1827).

rest upon me. Every step I take may affect not only China, but all Asia, nay the world."[8]

Just three weeks before his departure and utterly ignorant of China, Bridgman obtained two books describing the London Missionary Society's efforts in China.[9] Neither book prepared him for the great encounter that he was soon to experience. Nor did the lengthy religious ceremonies in his hometown do much to shed light on China's situation. When several prominent Congregational ministers of the Connecticut Valley examined and ordained the young missionary on 6 October in Belchertown, the local minister urged Bridgman 'to go to the proud, bigoted and fornicating pagan in his distant pagoda . . . and let [them] learn the glad song of salvation.'[10] The fundamentalist president of Amherst College, Heman Humphrey, called on Bridgman to go to China as a 'soldier of Christ.' 'You go to see what one of the most ancient and inveterate forms of idolatry is with your [own] eyes, to hear the hideous shouts with your own ears. You go to attack the prince of darkness in his most imposing fortress. . . .'[11]

With such lurid images, Bridgman left village New England and embarked for Canton aboard Olyphant's ship *Roman*. Two weeks at sea from New York the young missionary noted in his diary, 'I have been *seasick* ever since the Pilot left us.'[12] By 2 November Bridgman had started to study Chinese with the help of a fellow passenger, William C. Hunter, one of the few Americans in China who had gained an acquaintance of the language; but seasickness soon overcame him.[13] During the 126-day voyage to the Canton delta, he made very little progress in the language.

Anchoring on 19 February 1830 at Lintin Island, infamous as an opium depot, Bridgman immediately encountered the idolatry he had come to attack. The small Chinese craft conveying him to shore contained a shrine for an assortment of local deities, a miniature temple—what the pidgin-speaking boatman called a josshouse [pidgin 'joss' for Portuguese 'Deos']. However bizarre in appearance, the Satanic images of Congregationalist oratory had suddenly been reduced to human proportion; they were quaint, even humorous. Bridgman gazed upon 'a whole family of heathen deities,—"Old Jos," "Young Jos," "Young Jos's Mother," etc.—a group of little wooden images having the form neither of man, nor beast, nor bird, nor fish,—but rather a combination of somewhat of all these.' From that first day China's exotic quality intrigued him. 'We began to *feel* now that we were in a *strange* land. The works of nature here are very much as at home; but all else seems as different, as the situation is opposite to our native country.'[14]

Under the first protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison, Bridgman immediately began to study both the Cantonese and Mandarin dialects, as well as the classical written language. Due to the paranoia of the Chinese government, which feared that foreigners literate in Chinese might gain the knowledge to manipulate China, his Chinese tutors instructed him at the risk of death. During the next two years or so, however, Bridgman experienced severe shock as he moved closer to Chinese culture. He periodically plunged into deep pits of depression, which were at last vanquished by total concentration on his language studies, researches on China in the library of the British East India Company, and on writing.

His arrival in pre-treaty China—nearly a decade before the Opium War (1839-1842) transformed China's relations with the outside world—made Bridgman a witness of the last vestiges of the so-called Canton system. He lived in quarters provided by Olyphant in the American Factory, one of thirteen situated on the Pearl River waterfront, at which all legitimate trade with the maritime West was conducted according to Ch'ing regulations dating back to 1759.

Smuggled into Canton by Olyphant's firm, the young missionary's presence in the Thirteen Factories was in clear violation of Chinese rules, which not only excluded all but legitimate traders from residence, but also forbade the propagation of Christianity. Nevertheless, he often bent the restrictive rules for a quick run down the river, or a surreptitious peek into the grand, low-lying walled city of Canton with its million-plus inhabitants. It was most exciting to imagine the

8. BHA, Bridgman to Family, *Roman*, 23 Dec. 1829.

9. Robert Morrison, *Life of Dr. Milne* (no publishing data available) and William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the protestant Mission to China*, Malacca, 1820.

10. BHA, Coleman sermon, 6 Oct. 1829.

11. BHA, Humphrey sermon, 6 Oct. 1829.

12. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), South China Mission (SCM), 16.3.8, Bridgman Journal, 28 Oct. 1829.

13. Ibid., 4 Nov. 1829.

14. Ibid., 20 Feb. 1830.

day when he might enter such a city and preach to its inhabitants. Compelling scenes of the colorful humanity in that densely-packed city abounded—kindly, robed Buddhist priests; rich merchants dressed in ornate satins; a myriad of shopkeepers on narrow lanes that made and sold delightful curiosities as well as the food and utensils of everyday life. In contrast there were scenes of brutalization and human degradation—mandarins who swaggered past crowds of onlookers to order and observe the decapitation of criminals at the execution grounds not far from the Factories; beggars dressed in rags; diseased and disfigured human beings who had no hope.

For a decade, travel to Macao at the southern edge of the Canton delta provided Bridgman's only opportunity to escape what he called the 'pinhole' of his Factory residence. He and most of the European and American mercantile community periodically retreated from the oppressive heat of the Canton summer to this picturesque Portuguese settlement, with its pastel-colored, iron-grilled, multi-storied, European-style buildings located on a small peninsula of the South China Sea. Catholic Macao provided a welcome haven, where Bridgman particularly delighted in the pleasant horseback outings with a fellow Yankee, Caroline Shillaber Colledge of Salem, Massachusetts, wife of the British East India Company's surgeon.

In his early years at Canton and Macao, Bridgman moved into a sophisticated, cosmopolitan world quite different from his native New England. Under Robert Morrison's influence, he began to open his eyes to the rich variety of human experience and to realize that exaggerated cultural provincialism, whether Western or Chinese, was detrimental to his Christian cause of gathering all of God's children to join the 'family of nations.'

China Revealed

During his thirty-two-year career in China, Bridgman energetically participated in many important projects in the story of intercultural relations between America and China. After Robert Morrison's death in 1834, for example, Bridgman was one of the activists in forming and directing the Morrison Educational Society, which established a school for Chinese boys with an American teacher hired from Monson Academy in Massachusetts through Bridgman's connections. One of the boys trained at this school, Yung Wing, went on to Monson for additional training before entering Yale, where in 1854 he became the first Chinese to obtain a B.A. degree in the United States. Yung Wing later became famous both in China and the United States as the head of the Chinese Educational Mission that sent more than 100 Chinese boys to the Connecticut Valley for Western-style education between 1872 and 1881, a project for which Bridgman had hoped and prayed forty years earlier.

Bridgman was also a pioneer in the introduction of Western-style medicine to China, pestering the Board for a medical missionary to be sent to China until finally Dr. Peter Parker joined him in 1834 and established his famed Ophthalmic Hospital; four years later Bridgman and Parker joined others to found the Medical Missionary Society in China.

Bridgman's growing reputation in the China coast community as a linguist and pundit on Chinese affairs attracted the notice of both Chinese and American officials. For example, when Imperial Commissioner Lin Tse-hsü descended on Canton in 1839 with orders to stop the illegal trade in opium, he invited Bridgman as an American opponent of the opium traffic to witness its destruction, asking him to report what he had seen to skeptical Westerners, who suspected that Lin would merely resell the confiscated opium. Bridgman also aided in developing diplomatic relations between China and the United States. When Caleb Cushing arrived in China to negotiate the first Sino-American treaty in 1844, he invited Bridgman and Parker to join his staff as interpreters and advisers, with Bridgman serving also as chaplain.

But Bridgman's greatest efforts were spent in creating links of intellectual communication between China and the West. Not only did he produce a corpus of religious literature in Chinese, including numerous Christian tracts, a translation of the entire New Testament, and near completion of the Old Testament by the time of his death in 1861; he also wrote an extraordinary amount of secular literature—in English for the West to become better acquainted with China, and in Chinese to introduce elements of Western civilization to Chinese scholars. While Bridgman considered his religious work to be more important than any other endeavor, he believed the way to promote China's acceptance of the Gospel lay in introducing Chinese readers to Western knowledge and the fruits of modern invention. In 1832 he wrote optimistically that 'when

that [Western] knowledge shall have spread, like a flood of light over *this* hemisphere, changes will come in as bright and glorious a train, here, as in any other part of the globe."[15]

Bridgman's first fascinated impressions of China appeared in his book, *Letters to Children from China* (Boston, 1832), a naive report that was to be followed over the next three decades by hundreds of scholarly articles and reports on the American mission in China and on virtually all aspects of Chinese life, history and culture. These writings appeared in various journals and periodicals—the Congregationalist *Missionary Herald, The North China Herald, Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* and the *Chinese Repository*.

At the urging of Robert Morrison, Bridgman founded the *Chinese Repository* in May 1832, as a Christian publication which aimed to inform the Western public of the true condition of China and its people. Despite the *Repository*'s Christian bias, Bridgman made it clear from the beginning that the publication would seek to employ careful scholarship to understand Chinese civilization, declaring that the Chinese empire 'beyond all controversy presents the widest, and most interesting field of research under heaven."[16]

In many ways the Chinese appealed to him; he found them amiable and always willing to talk."[17] He had come to China expecting to find a heathen people who were completely ignorant, but instead he discovered they were a 'bookish people' who were comparable in intellect to any people in the world."[18] They were human beings, 'not celestial or infernal,' who suffered the misfortune of living in a country without Christian and scientific knowledge."[19] They had 'advanced as far as any people ever have gone, or can go, without the aids of divine revelation."[20] But he was impressed with many aspects of Chinese civilization, and even though China was hostile to foreigners Bridgman looked to the day when there might be, in addition to the exchange of commercial goods, 'traffic in intellectual and moral commodities."[21] If China would open to this sort of exchange with the West, he noted in 1832, 'we could welcome to our sympathies, another world of fellowmen, whose genius and intellectual powers, and shades of character, and worth of friendship, and charms of affection, and everything but existence, had been then unknown."[22] 'It is hoped that much of knowledge and wit will yet be drawn from [China's] literature, to widen the paths of human wisdom, and to strew them with flowers."[23] Clearly, Bridgman had moved considerably beyond the boundaries of intellectual provincialism. Even though the *Repository* retained its Christian orientation, Bridgman could only applaud and support the attitude of one of his several contributors, Karl Gützlaff, who maintained that 'we cannot sympathize with this almost innumerable people . . . unless we view them in their true character and condition'; even 'their government, as bad as it is, has stood the test of ages, and deserves the attention of every thinking man."[24]

To accomplish this purpose, the *Chinese Repository* was to be devoted to the spread of a more accurate, current knowledge of China than might be gained from the standard European accounts, for the most part woefully out-of-date. As Bridgman launched this impressive research project, he noted that most of the discrepancies and contradictions to be found in foreign books on China made it imperative to consult authoritative Chinese books, which might be obtained 'in great numbers, and on every subject, whether physical, moral, political, commercial, literary, or religious. Sufficient weight has not . . . , we think, been given to native authorities.' This penetration of Chinese sources was precisely what the Chinese government dreaded. Though as a foreigner Bridgman was relatively protected, his fears of curtailment were validated when his Chinese assistants for religious publications were harassed, imprisoned, and hounded out of China. Bridgman's persistence in using Chinese materials risked not only the wrath of Chinese officials, however, but also the censure of the Boston Board, which found it difficult to believe that the 'heathen' world held any truth. Bridgman had made an intellectual leap which acknowledged that traditional China could teach the West—in its ideals of social harmony and filial piety,

15. *Chinese Repository* (CR) 1:163 (1832).
16. CR, 1:1 (1832).
17. BHA, Bridgman letters, 16 June 1830, 29 June 1833.
18. Eliza J. Gillett, Bridgman, ed., *The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman* (New York, 1864), pp. 59, 108.
19. Ibid., p. 105; CR 1:5 (1832).
20. Bridgman, *Life and Labors*, p. 109.
21. CR, 3:54 (1834).
22. Ibid., 1:143 (1832).
23. Ibid., 1:141 (1832).
24. Ibid., 3:54 (1834).

for example, but he tempered his opinion to assuage his American supporters. He admitted that he did not expect to find in all of the Chinese empire's vast collection of books anything that would 'improve the morality of Holy Writ.'[25]

With Bridgman at the helm of the *Repository*, more than 12,000 pages of text appeared in a space of twenty years, detailing virtually all aspects of the Chinese experience. In 1833 the arrival of a printer, S. Wells Williams, who rapidly learned Chinese and joined Bridgman in his researches, added to the small pool of regular contributors, but he remained the major contributor for many of the early years.

The journal rapidly gained local popularity among the Western community of Canton and Macao, and within two years had been recognized both in Europe and America as one of the most reliable sources of information on China. A typical monthly issue included several feature articles on any of over thirty major subjects that ranged over a full spectrum covered by the social sciences and humanities, but also including topics on natural history, commercial relations, and foreign relations as well as travel reports. Each issue also featured a journal of the important developments of the month, which along with the section on miscellanies, constitute a gold mine of information for contemporary scholarship. Literary reviews and a section on religious intelligence also appeared, though the emphasis on the latter declined steadily in favor of more scholarly topics.

The Board in Boston did not particularly appreciate Bridgman's efforts in providing a new source of such information on China, however. Where were the converts to Christianity? Wasn't he wasting time on scholarship while souls were being lost? But Bridgman refused to abandon the project, replying to the Board's criticism, 'I really fear very much that you do not understand China.'[26] Two weeks later he wrote to the Board that he had 'resolved it shall not be given up; the point to hit is to keep it going, without hindrance to other work.'[27]

Blessed with inordinate energy and a nineteenth-century New England work ethic, Bridgman somehow managed to continue as editor of the *Repository* until a move to Shanghai to complete his translation of the *Bible* necessitated turning the duties fully over to S. Wells Williams in 1848. Even so he continued to contribute essays to the journal until Williams finally decided to conclude the work in 1851, having first gleaned the extensive files of the journal to publish his study of China, *The Middle Kingdom* (1848). Today still considered a classic, America's first mature scholarly treatment of China was a by-product of the team work in research that Bridgman directed for so many arduous years. With its wide circulation, *The Middle Kingdom*, in its various editions over the next decades, at last began to summon the attention of American intellectuals to the field of Chinese studies.

However open-minded Bridgman and other contributors to his journal wished to be, Western cultural myopia influenced the overall interpretation of the *Repository*. Bridgman, for example, spent month after month reading and analyzing various Confucian texts. But in the end, while admitting that they contained much that was valuable, he concluded that they served 'to bring upon the intellect a dark and heavy incubus' which mitigated against Chinese comprehension of the fields of science 'where "the spirit of the age," the result of experience, guided by the principles of Christianity, is teaching men how to live.'[28] Bridgman and his journal clearly advocated a basic change for China that would let 'light and knowledge come in freely from abroad. . . .'[29]

Light into Darkness

Bridgman's evaluation of the Chinese intellect on the eve of the Opium War had given it very high marks; where he found deficiency was in the 'objects and [Chinese] modes of study.'[30] China was held back by a sterility of thought, and the human mind in the Middle Kingdom 'groped in darkness,' awaiting the light of reform. Bridgman observed that 'the days of this "sterile fertility" . . . will continue until some light breaks in from a foreign source. Whether the Chinese are to come within the range of modern improvement soon, or not till after the lapse of ages, depends in no small degree on the course pursued by foreigners.'[31]

With this notion of foreign responsibility not only

25. Ibid., 1:3 (1832)
26. ABCFM, SCM, 16.3.8, v. 1a, no. 46, Canton, 10 March 1838.
27. Ibid., no. 47, Canton, 26 March 1838.
28. CR, 4:8 (1835).
29. Ibid., 12:5 (1843).
30. Ibid., 7:4 (1838).
31. Ibid., 7:1, 4 (1838).

for China's soul, but also for her mind, Bridgman and his associates had formed an agency at Canton in 1834 to make Western knowledge available to the Chinese and to convince them that Westerners were not mere barbarians without culture, but indeed possessed a truly remarkable civilization that in many ways far surpassed China's. With their Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China, he and his colleagues hoped to open China by peaceful means, to use 'intellectual artillery' that would communicate to the Chinese 'the richest fruits of modern invention and discovery' as well as a knowledge of the history and affairs of Western states.[32] Bridgman perceived of the society as standing between 'the great regions of light and darkness; with one hand its members may gather up the richest fruits of modern invention and discovery throughout the whole western hemisphere, and with the other they may scatter them far and wide among the inhabitants of these eastern nations.'[33]

One of the books the society published for China's readers on the eve of the Opium War was Bridgman's history of the United States, the first full account of the new nation to be printed in Chinese.[34] Composed by the New England missionary six decades after the Declaration of Independence, his book, *Mei-li-ko ho-sheng-kuo chih-lueh* (A short account of the united provinces of America; Singapore, 1838), became the counterpart in China of Williams's American classic on China. After the Opium War, Chinese intellectuals who were searching for the sources of Western power were fascinated by it, as were the Japanese after Perry's visit.[35] Its heavy imprint can be seen on at least two of the famous postwar Chinese studies of the non-Chinese world that served in the 1860s as manifestoes for reform and change.[36] Governor Hsu Chi-yü, who had fought the British along the Fukien coast, found Bridgman's story of the American Revolution most exciting; as an unsuccessful defender of China's coast against British ships and guns, Hsu considered George Washington to be a great hero, equal to those of China's ancient past.

What did such Chinese modernizers searching for new forms of political, economic, and military organization find in Bridgman's book on America? The author portrayed America as a vigorous, successful, rationally organized nation that had benefited from the developments of Western, Christian civilization. But he also attempted to present his subject in ways that could be understood by the Chinese, seeking analogues and reference points to Chinese concepts. Noting in his preface that the 'world is one and the states of the world are like members of one body,' Bridgman explained that even very wise Chinese scholars knew very little about his native land and had asked for more details. Though he himself was relatively unlettered, he nevertheless had written this account. Aware of Chinese views regarding filial duty, he explained his presence in China. 'I was born in the united provinces of *Mei-li-ko,* in the province of *Ma-sha-chu-hsieh,* which is on the opposite side of the globe from China.' He had toiled in his father's fields from the age of five until manhood, 'working in the day, studying at night,' in tune with a Chinese ideal that honored farmer-scholars who studied at night even by the light of fireflies. Because he loved learning, his father had allowed him to change occupations and become a scholar. 'When I was twenty-eight, since my aged father was living happily with my brothers, I desired to go to China to study in order to avoid looking at Heaven from [the bottom of] a well.'[37] Bridgman's first volume introduced the twenty-six American states in detail, describing their position, climate, major cities, population, commerce, etc. For example: 'The provincial capital of *Ma-sha-chu-hsieh* is in the east and is named *Po-shih-tun*. Since none of the cities in the twenty-six provinces is surrounded by walls, Boston too has none. The buildings in the city are constructed of either brick or stone (to prevent fires), and they are four or five stories tall. In the center [of the city] is a public hall that is beautiful and worth seeing; it is 200 feet tall. All public matters are discussed here each year. Inside there is a stone statue of *Hua-sheng-tun*.'

Fascinating though such material must have been to

32. Ibid., 3:380 (1834); ABCFM, SCM, I, No. 14, 7 Sept. 1836.

33. CR, 7:405 (1838).

34. The following description of this book is condensed from Fred W. Drake, 'protestant Geography in China: Elijah Coleman Bridgman's Portrayal of the West,' in Suzanne W. Barnett and John K. Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China. Early protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 89-106.

35. Ozawa Saburo, *Bakumatsu-Meiji Yasokyo shi kenkyu* [Researches in the history of Christianity during the Bakumatsu-Meiji (era)], (Tokyo, 1944), p. 206.

36. Wei Yuan's *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* (An illustrated gazetteer of the countries overseas; 1844) and Hsu Chi-yü's *Ying-huan chih-lueh* (A short account of the maritime circuit, 1848).

37. *Mei-li-ko ho-sheng-kuo chih-lueh* (A short account of the united provinces of America; Singapore, 1838), MLK, 1, *hsü*, 2-3.

Chinese readers attracted to exotica, what compelled attention from Chinese interested in reform was Bridgman's simple, idealized account, in twenty-seven chapters, of the history, institutions, and accomplishments of the nation that he believed would serve as a model for modern states in the future. Bridgman explained how science and experimentation had allowed Western states to understand the principles of nature and thereby improve their own condition. After ascertaining that the world was round, Europeans had competed to settle the New World. Because the English king had oppressed the common people, the *P'i-li-mou* had come to live in the North in order to worship God in their own manner. Gradually New England was settled and there were thirteen provinces. Playing on the Confucian concept of the people's right to rebel against oppressive rule, Bridgman introduced the American Revolution. Because the English king had taxed the common people in America too heavily, the gentry leaders met in *Fei-la-ti-fei* in 1776 to discuss the problem; because the English king failed to listen to the people, the leader of the people, *Hua-sheng-tun,* saw no alternative but to form an independent state. Unlike Chinese rebellions, however, the American Revolution had produced a new system of government by the people and their representatives. When Washington established the new government, he did not establish himself as a monarch, but instead carried out the will of the people and the gentry. Because of his great merit, the people called him the Father of the Country.[38]

The American government was rational, based on a set of written principles that could be agreed on by the people and the gentry. The people selected representatives who discussed the affairs of the central government in two large deliberative bodies. The local and central governments were effectively balanced, each assuming responsibility for specific duties. Because the interests of the people were represented, taxes were low and trade was encouraged. Even though trade was one of the important bases for American wealth and power, Americans—like the Chinese—considered farming to be of utmost importance, and all of the high officials and scholars in America ploughed fields in their spare time; even George Washington had labored thus.[39]

38. MLK, 2:10-14b.
39. MLK, 2:29.

In America, laws and regulations served to promote public harmony. Officials could not punish the people outside the law, and even the rich and influential could not ignore these laws. Punishments consisted of hanging, imprisonment, and fines. American prisons, in contrast to those of China, were clean and well-ventilated; prisoners received good food, clothing, exercise, and daily instruction.

Popular education, libraries, modern improvements in transportation and communication, and manufacturing all received attention. The secret behind these achievements, Bridgman suggested, was that scientific knowledge—the gift of Christian civilization—had allowed people to gain control of their environment and follow a course of self-improvement. With their knowledge of the principles of nature, people in America and other Western nations had invented many things—such as the cotton gin to weave cloth, thereby increasing productivity and gaining greater wealth.

Furthermore, because the people supported the government that worked for their betterment, and because they were able to produce effective guns and ships, America was also strong militarily. Foreigners feared to invade. Bridgman concluded his presentation of America with a classical phrase that later became a popular slogan for a generation of Chinese modernizers and reformers after the Opium War: *Kuo-fu, ping-ch'iang*—'wealthy state, strong army,' a compelling goal for Chinese leaders ever since.

Conclusion

Elijah Bridgman was caught between two cultures which saw each other as barbaric. Westerners had abandoned the eighteenth-century worship of things Chinese to consider China as a filthy den of backward brutality. China, in her imperial majesty, viewed the Western philistine at her gates as benighted, abusive, and uncivilized. To realize his Christian humanist vision, Bridgman sought to forge links that would close this gulf of prejudice. Both worlds needed authentic information to understand the other.

As a nineteenth-century New England soldier of God, Bridgman did believe he held truth on his side, but at the age of twenty-nine he grew beyond his background of provincial New England fire-and-brimstone rhetoric even as he sought to convert the 'pagan' Chinese. 'Great allowances must be made for the ig-

norance and prejudices of the Chinese; and yet their ignorance and prejudice regarding foreigners are scarcely greater than ours are respecting them. Both are wrong.'[40] Promoting this ignorance were many of the European sources upon which the American image of the Chinese was based, and Bridgman spent much of his literary career debunking these mythical portraits, arguing that his audience must listen to authentic Chinese voices.

Though it seems that Bridgman did not reach a large popular audience, his efforts significantly affected both China and the West. His book on the United States of America became a classic during the nineteenth century and inspired a Chinese interest that continues to this day. He anticipated by several decades the early twentieth-century Chinese emphasis on science and democracy to revolutionize the old society. Some of his geographical terminology in Chinese continues to name foreign places. His protestant Bible was used by many thousands of converts well into the twentieth century. Moreover, Bridgman prepared the ground for American scholarship of China. His protégé, S. Wells Williams, benefited enormously from Bridgman's researches and guidance, and ultimately entered the academic world as a scholar of China. And though Bridgman is an anonymous figure in American scholarship, this ghost-scholar's language, ideas, and information formed the basis for much of American knowledge of China long after his death.

40. CR, 12:6 (1843).

But perhaps Bridgman's most significant and valuable contribution was simply in seeing the Chinese not merely as heathen devils, potential fodder for the Christian mills, but as people. Grappling with the strangeness of a strange land, Bridgman saw beyond his sense of lonely alienation. 'Probably the Chinese have more peculiarities than can be found among any other [people]; this, however, does not exempt them from feeling grief, pain, reproach, honor, hope, fear, and the like as keenly as any other mortals.'[41] As he thus spoke for the Chinese on the eve of the Opium War, perhaps he echoed the words of another wanderer:

> If you prick us, do we not bleed?
> If you tickle us, do we not laugh?
> If you poison us, do we not die?
> And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?[42]

41. Bridgman, *Life and Labors*, p. 105.

42. William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act III, scene I, lines 66-69.

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Stephen Reynolds' Influence on Business and Culture in Hawaii, 1823-1855

Pauline N. King

THE problem with viewing the life of Stephen Reynolds in the Hawaiian Islands is one of interpretation and condensation.[1]

The American from West Boxford, Massachusetts, lived in Honolulu between 1823 and 1856 as one of the islands' important merchant traders. He was also an advocate and promoter of western commercial culture. As such, he met Hawaiians, chief and people, and tried to influence them to his method of operation. They on their part continued to act in their traditional manner. Through their contact and conflict, new practices were adopted and a culture emerged, neither traditional Hawaiian nor western, but a Hawaiian society in process of transformation.

By analyzing aspects of Reynolds' life and the dialectic in operation, it is possible to illustrate the dynamic of social change. His life, then, as entrepreneur, critic of culture and intellectual, will be used to exemplify the process.

First, Reynolds and his fellow traders exhibited the presence of an identifiable capitalist activity resident in the islands. Second, he represented a new secular cosmopolitan culture developing in Honolulu. It was a 'city' culture of new residents, urban Hawaiians and the young generation of a union of west and Polynesia. Third, his intellectual attainments added an element to Hawaii's urban culture of familiarity with western ideas and principles unknown before.

I. Business and Commerce

Reynolds identified an American interest group prepared to exploit whatever economic opportunities became available to it. His business activities were varied in character. His major occupation was as a store keeper who bought and sold goods, both of foreign and domestic manufacture in Honolulu and in a branch store in Lahaina, Maui. He was one of the major dealers in sandalwood buying the wood from Chiefs[2] and selling it to merchants in the China trade. He loaned money, usually at one percent per month interest, to enterprises which were able to expand or to preserve solvency because of his cash support. He bought into new businesses such as sugar production. He kept accounts for other businessmen, had a wharf to service ships and processed papers for ships entering the port of Honolulu.[3]

He was, indeed, so successful that he was said to be worth over $150,000 by the mid-1840s, a tidy sum indicating not great wealth but certainly prosperity for Honolulu then.

The origin of this success was primarily in his management abilities and his vision in being able to identify opportunities for profit. Yet Reynolds may have arrived in Honolulu with a stake of some sort.

The oldest child of Enos and Sarah, Reynolds was born in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1782. While he was still quite young, perhaps three years old, his parents returned to Enos' father's home in West Boxford

1. This paper is an impressionistic look at Reynolds for the 1985 conference of the North American Society for Oceanic History, and the material is taken from work in progress on his biography.

2. In Hawaii there were Chiefs and chiefs. The great Chiefs at this time were also the government of the Islands. Thus, I will use a capital 'C' to indicate that these were important persons both in terms of genealogy and political power.

3. Kingdom of Hawaii, First Circuit Court, Equity no. 325, Reynolds-v-Barnard; no. 151, Reynolds ad Kamehameha III; no. 361, Reynolds ad Wood; no. 319, Reynolds-v-Perry; no. 320, Reynolds-v-Wright; Law, no. 895, Reynolds-v-Kenway; no. 821, Reynolds-ad-Pelly; no. 145, Reynolds-ad-Coffin; no. 78, Reynolds-ad-Brewer; Probate, no. 2422; Stephen Reynolds, Journals, 1823-1851, *passim*, MSS at Peabody Museum, Salem. Gorham Gilman, 'Streets of Honolulu in the Early Forties,' *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*, 1904, pp. 79-80.

where the family remained, and indeed descendants lived until it was destroyed by fire in 1926.[4]

Stephen's early years are not known at this time. He was almost twenty-eight years old when he sailed in the *New Hazard* in 1810 as an able bodied seaman. The next record of him is when he sailed, probably as an officer, in the *Ida* in 1817.[5] Both voyages were to the Pacific and on his first voyage there were several stops in the islands.

When he arrived in Honolulu in 1823, he worked as a clerk for the American merchant William French where he remained for about five and a half years. Yet even as an employee of French, and within three years of his arrival, he was engaged in sandalwood trading on his own behalf. It seems likely, then, Reynolds brought some savings with him in 1823.[6]

Part of his success was the timing of his arrival and settlement in Honolulu. By 1823 Hawaiian society had changed in such a manner that a potential for modern economic enterprise existed. First, in 1819 after the death of Kamehameha I, his government monopoly on the sandalwood trade was broken. Each great chiefly landowner became his own developer of the stands on his lands. Secondly, these great landowner chiefs had abandoned their traditional religion and its dependence on a kapu or taboo system of restrictive rules and regulations. It was possible now for resident foreigners to develop commercial enterprises within a native system no longer traditional in its structure.

Thirdly, the Hawaiian chiefly class had acquired a taste for western consumer goods and were seemingly insatiable in their desire to accumulate ships, clothes, fabrics. furniture, trinkets and the like. Fourthly, a population both native Hawaiian and foreign had settled in Honolulu and had cash to spend, or goods to trade, with the merchants. Finally, the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina were busy centers for merchant and whaling ships whose crews poured into town to buy whatever was available that they could afford.[7]

Cultural attributes, however, influenced the conduct of business. In the sandalwood trade, Reynolds and other traders had to contract with the great Chiefs. They controlled the forests of wood and the labor force among their own dependents. Willing to exploit the gathering of wood, the chiefs were not willing to abide by strict rules of financial responsibility.

Traditionally, chiefs were monopolizers of the resources on their land holdings. As political and religious leaders, their status depended upon their command of the goods and manufactures of their traditional society, especially luxury goods. They were essentially, then, consumers and believed in the necessity to accumulate and monopolize those goods. In traditional society, however, there was a limit to the availability of goods such as at tax gathering time or the Makahiki. Moreover, the elaborate artifacts which were manufactured especially for chiefs required time and considerable effort to complete. Thus it was not impossible for a chief to monopolize the products of his land.

Now in the 1820s there seemed to be no limit to the amount of goods offered, the only restriction being the arrival of ships in port with more goods. Buying goods with piculs of sandalwood, Chiefs bought more than they could pay for. They casually made promissory notes with traders for future cuttings of wood.

Reynolds and sandalwood traders were quite willing to provide cash or goods to the Chiefs for the promise of payment. The system was satisfactory for only a short time. Within three years of his arrival, Reynolds was joining other merchants in complaints about the unpaid debts of the chiefs.[8]

Their protests took a more official turn when they requested the government of the United States to intercede in their behalf. The result was two naval expeditions to Hawaii in 1826.[9] An important part of

4. Rev. M.T. Runnels, *A Genealogy of Runnels and Reynolds Families in America* . . . (Boston, 1873), pp. 34-38; *Vital Records of Boxford, Massachusetts* . . . (Topsfield, Mass., 1905), pp. 80, 83, 261; Sidney Perley, *The Dwellings of Boxford, Essex County, Mass.* (Salem, Mass., 1893), pp. 239-41; Winnifred C. Parkhurst and Barbara C. Perley, *Updated Dwellings of Boxford* (Boxford, Mass., 1977), p. 193.

5. Stephen Reynolds, *The Voyage of the New Hazard* (Salem, Mass., 1938), ed. F. W. Howay, pp. vi-ix.

6. Reynolds, Journals, 14, 24 Jan., 11 Dec. 1826, 6 Jan. 1827; 'Account of Tax Wood paid in by the native government to be divided equally between Stephen Reynolds, John C. Jones, Jr., Don Marin, and James Hunnewell.' Hunnewell MSS, Harvard University Library.

7. The population of Honolulu was about 4,000 Hawaiians and 100 or more foreign residents. About forty ships arrived in 1823, and arrivals were increasing in number each year.

8. Reynolds, Journals, 22, 23 Jan. 1827, and throughout the pages from 1824 to 1830. He refers to sandalwood transactions almost every week.

9. Commodore Isaac Hull to Lt. John Percival, Chorillos, 14 Aug. 1825, in U.S. House of Representatives *Reports*, 22nd Cong., 2nd Sess., no. 86, pp. 3-5.; Hull to Capt. Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Callao Bay, 25 May 1826, ibid., p. 13.

Stephen Reynolds (1782-1857). Oil by J. M. Stanley, Honolulu. (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

their missions was the investigation of the debts owed by the chiefs to American merchants. In January, Lieutenant John Percival arrived in the USS *Dolphin*. Percival, a violent, contentious man, spent his time fighting the Chiefs and the American Protestant missionaries over the issue of prostitution. So preoccupied was he that he did not carry through on the issue of debts.[10]

But in October Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones arrived in the USS *Peacock* with instructions to investigate that state of American commerce in the Hawaiian Islands. After extensive interviews, Jones presented the Hawaiian government with a list of claims, and a thinly veiled threat that the United States was willing to use force to see that they were honored.[11]

The Chiefs acknowledged a total debt of around $160,000 or 15,000 piculs of sandalwood. They accepted the debt as a responsibility of the government. In order to pay it off, the chiefs who were the government promulgated a tax on the Hawaiian people.

The levy provided that each adult male was to deliver one half picul of wood or four Spanish dollars to the government. Each female above the age of thirteen was to provide a mat or a kapa (tapa) or one Spanish dollar to the government. As an inducement to the people, each man was allowed also to cut one half picul of wood for his own private trade. In 1827 it was estimated that much of the wood brought into the market belonged to this new class of trader.[12]

In one transaction, then, the Hawaiian political and economic structure was expanded to include a government debt, a new form of taxation, and the Hawaiian commoner as entrepreneur and an active participant in the commercial system. But form sometimes precedes content. While the new elements were revolutionary in principle, they were not entirely or immediately effective. The Chiefs still ignored their debts. They used most of the tax money and wood collected to continue to buy for themselves and even added to debts already incurred.

Reynolds and his fellow traders continued to complain about the chiefs' frivolity while they continued to sell to them on credit. A visit by the USS *Vincennes* in 1829 made it possible for the merchants to ask again for the intercession on their behalf on the part of the vessel's commander, Captain William C.B. Finch. Again the Chiefs agreed to honor their debts. But traditional behavior and attitudes prevailed.[13] The final payment of the sandalwood debts was made in 1843 long after the trade itself had ended.

The convergence of Chiefs, commoner and trader had predictable results. By 1831 forests had been decimated and the trade was over.

In his first effort to enter the sugar industry, Reynolds again found cultural considerations in opposi-

10. Reynolds, Journals, January to May 1826; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, 1848), pp. 283-89.

11. Reynolds, Journals, 10 Oct. 1826 to 6 Jan. 1827.

12. Reynolds, Journals, 22, 23 Jan. 1827; Levi Chamberlain, Journal, MSS in Hawaiian Mission Childrens' Society Library, 28 Jan., 1 March, 19 April 1827. The tax provisions may be found in Hawaiian Kingdom, *Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations*, 1855, pp. 3-4.

13. Chamberlain, Journal, 2 Nov. 1829; Reynolds, Journal, 2 Nov. 1829, 14 Aug. 1832, 6 Oct. 1836.

tion to profitable enterprise. This time, however, the merchant interest met that of religious culture of American missionaries as well as the customary behavior of Chiefs, many of whom were also now converted Christians.

In 1828 he, French, John C. Jones and John Ebbets either leased from, or joined as partner with, the Chief Boki, governor of Oahu, in developing Boki's sugar plantation and mill first started in 1825. They engaged a manager for the plantation who turned the mill into a distillery for the manufacture of rum. Profit seemed secure.

But Hawaiian society had become too competitive in conflicting power relationships by 1828, and commercial considerations suffered as a result. Boki became preoccupied with relieving his debt burdens and spent his time planning a sandalwood expedition to the South Pacific. His political opponents seized the opportunity to gain power on Oahu. The Chiefess Ka'ahumanu who was regent of the kingdom and kuhina nui, or co-ruler of the Kingdom, was in bitter competition with Boki. As a convert to Christianity, she was able to accept the advice of the Rev. Hiram Bingham of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to support temperance in the Kingdom. Serving two masters at once—political expediency and religious piety—Ka'ahumanu had the fields destroyed and prevented the use of the distillery. In this case there was no recourse to an appeal for recompense by an understanding home government. French claimed later that he had lost $7,000. Reynolds' share was small, perhaps as little as $700.[14]

Reynolds did not have much luck with investments in sugar enterprises. He loaned money to Ladd and Company for their development of a plantation at Koloa, Kauai. The partners there went bankrupt and it was not clear whether Reynolds ever recovered his money. In the 1840s he commented that he did not think that the industry had much future. But he had one more experience with sugar plantations. A mortgage on a plantation at Hali'imaile on Maui resulted in his ownership when the planters went bankrupt.[15]

He did not particularly want the land, its stock and equipment. He kept the plantation because he could not get a good price for it. It was in his activities in his stores, his loans and his service to ships that he had most success once the sandalwood trade ended. He preferred this pattern. He opened a store in Lahaina and bought property on the waterfront there. He did the same thing in Hilo port on Hawaii island later in his life.

II. Nature and Culture

As critic and arbiter of culture, Reynolds presented an ambivalent set of attitudes. He was first of all an American in Hawaii. Yet he stood with all foreign nationals who were opposed to the American missionaries. He found his friends and associates among the foreign residents and among the Caucasian-Hawaiian families. He appeared to view Hawaiian culture objectively. Yet he separated his children from the influence of their Caucasian-Hawaiian mother and the culture of the islands. At the same time, he promoted the Oahu Charity School which was a school to educate the children of foreign residents in Honolulu and the children of Caucasian-Hawaiian marriages.

At first he supported the mission with his presence at church and with donations of money. There were social occasions when the mission families and Reynolds and other merchants joined together. He thought it boded a lasting relationship. He was soon criticizing them in his journal and publicly.[16] His objections were based on several aspects: their attempt to legislate morality, their business advice to Chiefs, their interest in influencing the development of law and their role as political advisors to Chiefs.

Through their influence with the chiefs, missionaries encouraged the enactment of laws against intemperance, work on the Sabbath, gambling, the use of tobacco and the like. To Reynolds and others in the secular foreign community, the attempt to promulgate laws in regard to sexual behavior was the most offensive of missionary influence. Chiefs introduced monogamy in a culture which accepted plural marriages and multiple sexual relationships for both sexes. Laws were introduced to punish adultery. Laws against *moe*

14. Bingham, op. cit., p. 340; *Sandwich Islands Mirror*, 15 Mar. 1840; Stephen Reynolds, 'Reminiscences of Hawaiian Agriculture,' Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society *Transactions*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 49-53; Reynolds, Journal, 24 Feb., 17 Sept. 1826, 2 March, 4 July 1827, 19 May 1828, 21, 24 Feb., 4 March 1829; Chamberlain, Journal, 24 Feb., 3, 10 Aug., 10 Nov. 1826, 31 Dec. 1828.

15. Kingdom of Hawaii, First Circuit Court, Equity No. 319, Reynolds-v-Perry.

16. Reynolds, Journal, beginning 4 July 1824, and throughout.

kolohe, or 'mischievous sleeping,' were meant to punish sexual intercourse outside the sanctity of marriage.

The howl of fury against the laws among the male resident foreign population can be dismissed as a protest of a group with a vested interest in a society without restrictions on sexual behavior. This argument failed to account for Reynolds' anger against the sex laws. Although he was married to two women, he contracted the relationships serially and not both at once.

His irritation, even anger, was based in his belief in the personal freedom of the individual. Nothing provoked his ire more than attempts to legislate behavior. Reynolds was conservative when it came to sexual freedom. But he believed that behavior was a matter of taste, education and personal discipline.

He was also irritated at their interference in business affairs. Bingham and others in the mission criticized the profit margin of the merchants and advised the Chiefs about inflated prices, high interest rates and shoddy goods. They were reluctant to support the sandalwood claims. To Reynolds the market would adjust itself naturally as chiefs became more experienced consumers.

He had an abhorrence of hypocrisy. And it seemed to him pronouncements of the reverends represented the ultimate in cant and false virtue. Moreover in their advisory capacity to the Chiefs, he believed that they attempted to adopt the Ten Commandments as the fundamental law of the Kingdom. In general, he considered them as manipulators of power to create a theocracy antagonistic to freedom and trade.[17]

Because of his antagonism to one mission, he became a supporter of another one. When the French Catholics arrived in 1827, the chiefs were prepared to expel them and to keep them from settling in the kingdom. Reynolds was among those who helped the mission settle in and continued to support them against government harassment. He had his children baptised by the priests. By this means a competing religious group was established and it was able to be a counter force to the power of the American missionaries.

In his view of Hawaiian culture, Reynolds' attitude was confused by his personal experience. He was married twice, both times to daughters of American and Hawaiian marriages.

17. Reynolds, Journal, 10, 11 Dec. 1825, 27 Oct., 1 Nov., 8 Dec. 1826, 8 Oct. 1829, 15, 17, 24 March 1833, 11 July 1838, and throughout.

His first wife was Winshipa Harbottle, the daughter of John Harbottle, an American resident and captain of the port and his Hawaiian wife. He had two children by her, William Pitt and Maria Harriet. But soon after his daughter's birth, the child died followed by her mother.

His second marriage was to Susan Jackson, the daughter of Edward Jackson and his part-Hawaiian wife Sally. Susan was sixteen years old to Reynolds' forty-six. They were married by the Reverend Hiram Bingham and settled down to a long and complicated relationship.

At first, Susan lived partly with Reynolds and partly at her parents' home. In time he built an imposing and spacious coral stone house in town and Susan resided there permanently.

He was soon faced with the strength of Hawaiian culture and its influence on Susan. He discovered after his marriage that she was, at times, meeting the young king, Kamehameha III. When he confronted her with this knowledge, Susan freely admitted her actions and maintained that she would continue the relationship whenever the king desired it. She believed it part of her duty willingly undertaken to respond to her king. Reluctantly, Reynolds accepted the situation.

Perhaps it was this revelation which determined his action in regard to all his children. He and Susan had five children, three daughters and two sons. As each of his children reached the age of three years, he sent them to West Boxford to live with his family and to be educated in his home town.

In 1830 he sent-off William Pitt. Then came his children by Susan: Matilda Euela, Evaline, John Rice and Harriet were sent to New England. His last child was Edward Jackson. Susan was able to delay his departure until he was six years old. But Reynolds placed the boy on a ship in the care of friends and sent him off to Massachusetts before Susan was aware of what was happening to her youngest son.

The only explanation of his actions exists in a paragraph he wrote when William Pitt was sent away:

> Poor boy, you launch out into the world at an early period without any friends to aid, advise or protect you. And still more that you were born of a female of the Sandwich Islands, which will always be a mark against you. Such is the ingratitude of the world. I send you to America that you may learn enough to be a good and useful member

of Society, and make a living in the world. In doing this I do my duty to you—do your duty to yourself.[18]

The words sound pretentious, the sentiments forced. The more apparent reason is that as much as he accepted Hawaii as his home and Hawaiian culture as it existed in his wives and his many friends, he did not want its influence to encompass his children, especially his daughters.

The attempt to control the influences on his children had mixed results. Two sons, William Pitt and Edward Jackson, returned to Hawaii, John Rice to California. None seemed to have done much with their lives. Indeed, their father described Edward and John as being idle, dissipated and spendthrift.

His daughters never returned to Hawaii. Evaline remained with her grandparents and her aunts. Matilda married Henry Dane Wilmarth of Taunton and Boston. Harriet married Roger Sherman Littlefield of Randolph, Massachusetts. Perhaps that was what their father intended: to divorce them from Hawaii and its culture which was neither traditional nor modern but a peculiar mix of both.[19]

The loss of the company of his children, especially his daughters, left a void in Reynolds' life which was exaggerated by another separation from Susan in the 1840s. As compensation he focused his interests on the young girls who were students of the Oahu Charity School.

The school was founded in 1831 in Honolulu by a committee of merchants of whom Reynolds was one. A board of trustees was established, and a sum of money collected to hire a teacher and build a school. Mr. and Mrs. Johnstone of the American mission were hired to teach thirty-four boys and girls who were registered.[20] The subjects were taught in English because the Board maintained that the future leadership of the Kingdom would have to be able to command that language. The pupils were the children of the foreign residents of Honolulu, many of whom were the children of Caucasian-Hawaiian marriages. Reynolds served as treasurer of the school board for many years, donated generously to its support, and administered its finances for many years.

The school was so influential that in time the government was forced to develop 'select schools,' which were public schools taught in the English language. But until these schools became numerous and achieved a standard comparable to it, the Oahu Charity School remained an influential institution in Honolulu. Indeed, it attracted children from the American West whose parents wished to have their children educated in English.

He encouraged the teaching of dancing and helped demonstrate the steps as well as play the fiddle for the classes. In the 1840s he made his home the center of dancing events for the girls of the school. He became confessor and guide of these girls. He advised them on dress and deportment and the proper marriages that they should contract. He worried about their behavior, and feared they eluded his advice and made unfortunate friendships. The concern and affection he lavished on them were feelings he was never able to express to his own daughters.

III. Intellect and Eccentricity

Reynolds developed his own persona as a unique and eccentric character. He appeared to nurture the image, and to use it as his identification of self and a reinforcement of his position in the community. Foreign visitors were fascinated by his distinctive dress in broad-brimmed Panama hat, full-collared white cotton shirt, nankeen pantaloons and a box coat both in natural color, white stockings and black pumps. Some said he looked Byronesque, others altogether outré. Some described his jaunty manner, others thought him erratic and irascible. Hawaiians liked him and called him *lanai* or *nanai,* one definition of which is to walk with a stiff back, to strut, to act the dandy.[21]

Whatever his demands for his children, his view of Hawaiians was an interesting one. He thought of them as individuals functioning in a real situation. In contrast, missionaries saw Hawaiians as objects—The

18. Reynolds, Journal, 8 Oct. 1830.

19. Kingdom of Hawaii, First Circuit Court, Probate No. 2422; Runnels, op. cit., pp. 68-69, 96-97.

20. W. D. Alexander, 'The Oahu Charity School,' in Hawaiian Historical Society *Annual Report,* 1908, pp. 20-38; Hawaiian Kingdom, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction,* 1851, p. 16; *Polynesian,* 7 June, 27 Dec. 1851, 3 Jan. 1852.

21. Ray Jerome Baker, *Honolulu in 1853,* Honolulu, 1950, pp. 28, 39, 40; Kingdom of Hawaii, Land Commission Foreign Testimony, 1846, vol. 1, p. 17; Nellie B. Pipes, 'John Mix Stanley, Indian Painter,' Oregon State Historical *Quarterly,* 1932, p. 255; Theodore Talbot, *The Journals* (Portland, Oregon, 1931), pp. 83, 131; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu, 1971), pp. 178, 241.

Chiefs, The Hawaiians, A Native—living in an ideal world of their own construct. Reynolds saw Hawaiians as subjects. They had names: the Chief, Boki, the Hawaiian clerk in a store, Kanui, that messenger from Kauai, Kekikee. In that sense he looked at them with a kind of equality remarkably modern in concept and rare among his compatriots.

Among his peers, Reynolds was one of the most intelligent. Some of his friends might have been superior to him in shrewdness or boldness of imagination. But it was Reynolds who learned and studied complex subjects and mastered theories for which he had only books as resources.

As Hawaiian society became more complex in the 1830s, the need for legal talent was apparent. But there were no professional lawyers in Hawaii. Reynolds acquired law books, among them the works of Vatel on international law and Storey on equity as well as the civil code of Massachusetts. As a self-taught lawyer, he defended many cases concerning business problems. He gave advice on such subjects as the rights of foreigners to reside in the Kingdom. When professional lawyers arrived beginning in 1844, he gave his books to them. But he continued to give advice and to prepare the legal papers of ship captains and residents.

His rational talents in keeping records and account books and the like was also an important part of the 'civilizing' influence in Hawaii. He acted as government pilot and harbor master; he served as consular representative of small European states. Over and over again, it is apparent that he helped many businessmen and sea captains succeed because he made sense of their books.

He pursued his interest in music and dance. He supported the work of the Indian painter, John Mix Stanley, when the latter spent a year in the Islands in 1848-1849. His home was a place where men and women could enjoy intellectual discourse and the rare opportunity to communicate about contemporary issues.

Ultimately Reynolds had no one left of his own to support him and sustain him in his later years. By 1851 he was sixty-nine years old and feeling his age. He suffered from edema and swollen joints. In 1854 he traveled to California for his health. After a vacation of several months, he returned to Honolulu.

But he did not improve. He became forgetful, then disoriented. He had periods of loss of rationality. He neglected his business. Some of the buildings at his residence were run down and not repaired. He failed to send material ordered by his manager at Hali'imaile. The plantation was losing production.

Finally in 1855 one of the creditors brought him to court to have his affairs taken over by conservators. A jury of twelve of the most prominent businessmen in Honolulu unanimously declared him 'a Lunatic.' Two men were appointed a committee to take care of his affairs. It was discovered that he was deeply in debt with assets that might not cover his debts.

His sister Rebecca traveled to Honolulu, helped settle his affairs and took him back to West Boxford in the spring of 1856. On 17 July 1857, Stephen Reynolds died in the family home and was buried in the West Boxford cemetery.[22]

IV. Influence

What was the influence of Stephen Reynolds in his career in the Hawaiian Islands? His most significant accomplishment was his successful commercial activity in Hawaii up to 1850. By his sustained commercial enterprise he helped the Islands over the difficult transition from a traditional economy based on self-sufficiency to the establishment of a resident local capitalism. While other merchants failed or represented absentee economic interests, Reynolds preserved a consistent commercial presence in the Kingdom. By his efforts and those like him, the entrance of the Islands into a commercial capitalism was assured. Secondly, he helped in the creation of a new culture in Hawaii which was cosmopolitan in race, cultural roots, ideas, manners, and taste.

What more can a person claim in a lifetime?

22. Kingdom of Hawaii, First Circuit Court, Probate No. 2422.

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Salem Trading Voyages to Japan During the Early Nineteenth Century

PETER J. FETCHKO

EUROPEAN turmoil and violence resulting from the French Revolution had political and economic consequences that altered patterns of trade throughout the world. The stability of Dutch colonial possessions and trading bases in Asian and Pacific waters were drastically affected. Even in distant Japan, closed to all but the Dutch and Chinese at a single port on the southern end of Kyushu, the effect would be dramatic and a precursor to those events more than half a century later when Japan's isolation would be suddenly challenged by the black ships of Commodore Matthew G. Perry and the eventual signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa.

The significance of the charter of foreign vessels by the Dutch between 1797 and 1807 for the yearly visit to Japan has not been missed by other authors.[1] There is, however, a need for additional study, this present effort notwithstanding, to clarify the history and nature of the trade, the products and luxury goods imported and their social and economic impact. In addition, as we shall see, there are yet many questions unanswered regarding the very first of these voyages, that of the ship *Eliza,* Captain William Robert Stewart, master.[2]

Dutch involvement in the affairs of the French Revolution led to invasion and the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795, dissolution of the Dutch East India Company in 1799 and in 1810, as a result of the fortunes of war and politics in Europe, incorporation into the French Empire. During this period, Dutch colonies and shipping were exposed defenseless to Great Britain and all of her colonies were nominally taken over by England, with the exception of her African Gold Coast possessions, her hong at Canton, and the Dutch factory on the island of Deshima at Nagasaki, where her colors continued to unfurl in obstinate protest to world events.[3]

Dutch fear of capture by British men-of-war and privateers in Asian waters, and her desire to maintain her western monopoly of the Japan trade, firmly established at Nagasaki since 1641, caused her to begin during this period the charter of neutral ships to carry on the yearly voyage from Batavia, on the northern coast of Java and the Asian base of the Dutch East India Company. American ships had been trading at Batavia since at least 1786, and Salem alone claims thirty-five vessels before 1807.[4]

Thomas Stamford Raffles, English lieutenant-governor at Batavia during British possession from 1811 to 1816, had stated even before his arrival in Java, his intention of restricting the enterprise of Americans and other 'commercial interlopers' and 'unprincipled adventurers' who enjoyed most of the trade.[5] It becomes clear that from among those neutral ships casually trading in Java coffee, sugar and spices at Batavia between 1797 and 1807, were selected those to make the

1. R. Hildreth, *Japan As It Was and Is* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1855), pp. 446-49; M. Kanai, 'Salem and Nagasaki: Their Encounter, 1797-1807,' The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, reprinted from *Contemporary Japan* XXIX, no. 1 (1968); S. Sakamaki, 'Japan and the United States, 1790-1853,' *The Asiatic Society of Japan,* vol. XVIII (1939), pp. 5-9.

2. Dr. Lee Houchins, specialist in early American trading voyages to Japan, has assembled a great amount of information not yet published, regarding these voyages, including that of the first chartered vessel, the *Eliza,* Captain William Robert Stewart, master, personal communication, April 1985.

3. W. Coolhass, *A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), p. 61.

4. C. Osgood, *Historical Sketch of Salem,* 1626-1879 (Salem: Essex Institute, 1879), pp. 146-48.

5. C. Day, *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904, 1972 edition, Oxford University Press), p. 190.

official yearly voyage to Japan. The first recorded of these is *Eliza*, reportedly of New York, captained by a William Robert Stewart in 1797.[6] Earlier visits by American vessels, unsanctioned by the Japanese and Dutch, occurred in 1791 when *Lady Washington* of Boston, captained by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Grace* of New York, captained by James Douglas, entered Japanese waters off the coast of Kashinoura in present-day Wakayama Prefecture.[7]

Captain Kendrick had made numerous voyages between the northwest coast and Canton delivering sea otter pelts up until his death in 1794.[8] On this particular voyage outward-bound from Canton he only briefly stopped at Japan on 6 May 1791, reporting in messages left in Dutch and Chinese that his cargo 'consists of copper and iron and of nought else.' He reports also to have 'drifted there under stress of wind and wave' but before Japanese officials could arrive, he had already departed.[9]

Only one other American visit previous to that of Captain Kendrick was reported on 1 May 1790, off the Kumano coast, also on the Kii peninsula, but the identity of the vessel and captain are unknown and few details are given in the Japanese reports.[10] Thus, previous to the visit of *Eliza* in 1797, direct contact between Japanese and Americans was minimal, unofficial and involved little or no exchange of goods or material culture. We must then look to the visit of *Eliza* and subsequent voyages as well as earlier indirect contacts with Batavia since 1786, for more significant and extensive contact and exchange. However, as we review the literature regarding the visit of *Eliza*, we are immediately posed with a major dilemma that calls into question the very nationality of the vessel and her captain. Richard Hildreth, in his work *Japan As It Was and Is*, published in 1855 using Dutch accounts, reports the visit of *Eliza* in the following manner:

> It was no doubt to diminish the danger of capture by the British that in the year 1797 the ship dispatched from Batavia sailed under the American flag and carried American papers, while the commander, one Captain Stewart, though in reality an Englishman from Madras or Bengal, passed for an American and his ship as the *Eliza* of New York.[11]

Let us now review the events and the circumstances that led Hildreth to make such a statement, seemingly in contradiction of initial Japanese and Dutch reports as well as more recent uncritical studies which accept Stewart as an American and his ship *Eliza* as from New York. Vessels dispatched from Batavia for Japan left in June and returned in December, following the patterns of the monsoon. *Eliza* made her first voyage in 1797, apparently without serious incident and returned safely with her cargo to Batavia. We know, also, she was back again at Batavia in time for the next season, to be once again chartered for the yearly voyage to Japan, this time for the year 1798. An important question is, where did she go in the interim? She could not have returned to New York and make it back to Batavia for the next season. Therefore, her destination must have been much closer at hand, perhaps China, Manila or India. In any event, while leaving Nagasaki on this, her second voyage for her return to Batavia, loaded with camphor and copper, she struck a rock and sank. Following several attempts to raise her, success was achieved and she was eventually refitted so as to continue her voyage to Batavia. Once again, however, she was to meet misfortune off the coast of Formosa, forcing her return to Nagasaki for repairs. So long were delays that now her course would cross that of the vessel chartered for the 1799 voyage, the ship *Franklin* of Boston, Captain James Devereux, master. In the journal of *Franklin*, Devereux reports on 9 July 1799 that '. . . at midday saw a ship under jury mast which proved to be Captain Stewart from Japan bound to Batavia, who lost his mast in a gale of [*sic*] Fumosa [*sic*].'[12]

Remarkably, a Chinese oil painting in the Peabody Museum of Salem's collection purchased in the early part of this century at Newburyport, Massachusetts, bears a depiction of *Eliza* and the caption 'The Distress'd Situation of the Ship Eliza in a Typhon [*sic*] in the Gulph [*sic*] of Japan.' The painting is unsigned and undated but appears to be contemporary to the event. By whom it was commissioned and how it came to be at Newburyport, Massachusetts, are questions as yet unanswered.

6. R. Hildreth, op. cit., p. 448; M. Kanai, op. cit., p. 2.

7. S. Sakamaki, op. cit., p. 4.

8. S. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* 1783-1860 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), p. 57.

9. S. Sakamaki, op. cit., p. 4.

10. Ibid.

11. R. Hildreth, op. cit., p. 446.

12. J. Devereux, *Journal of the Ship FRANKLIN*, 11 Dec. 1798 to 20 May 1800, Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Mass.

Chinese oil of ship *Eliza*, 1799. 'The Distress'd Situation of the Ship Eliza in a Typhon [*sic*] in the Gulph [*sic*] of Japan.' (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

Another painting by a Japanese artist in western style and (attributed to Shiba Kokan) also in the Peabody Museum of Salem's collection depicts two western vessels sailing into Nagasaki harbor in 1799, perhaps *Eliza* and *Franklin*.

Repairs at Nagasaki necessitated by this most recent disaster meant that both *Franklin* and *Eliza* were in port together and that *Franklin* was nearly loaded before Captain Stewart was ready to sail. Surprisingly, however, *Eliza* did not wait for *Franklin* but instead set out at once never to arrive at Batavia or to be seen again.[13] The indomitable Captain Stewart, however, does not yet give up what appears to be his own private attempt to breach the closed doors of Japan because once again in July 1800, for the third consecutive year, he is back at Nagasaki, this time aboard the brig *Emperor of Japan* and independent from the regular trade from Batavia. He reports that *Eliza* was wrecked with loss of everything but that with the help of a friend at Manila, he was able to buy the brig he now sailed and the cargo which he now wished to sell in order to discharge his debt to the factory at Nagasaki for the advances made for the repairs of *Eliza*.[14]

13. R. Hildreth, op. cit., p. 447.

14. R. Hildreth, op. cit., p. 448.

Japanese painting depicting two Western vessels, perhaps the *Franklin* and *Eliza*, entering Nagasaki harbor, 1799. (Photo by Mark Sexton. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

The fate of *Eliza* is now settled. She could not ever return to New York if that indeed were her port, and Captain Stewart would now have been absent without once returning to New York, since at least January 1797 or three and one-half years earlier. Heer Wadenaar, director of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, suspicious that Stewart was attempting illegal trade, had his cargo sold to discharge his debt but refused him any return cargo. Stewart was arrested and sent a prisoner to Batavia, from where he promptly escaped.[15] In the journal of William Cleveland, captain's clerk aboard the ship *Massachusetts*, made during the same 1800 voyage to Japan while Stewart was also at Nagasaki aboard the *Emperor of Japan*, there are many references to Stewart including reports of dining together aboard the *Massachusetts*. Cleveland apparently accepts Stewart as an American, although there is no specific reference to his nationality or home port.[16] *Massachusetts* was followed in 1801 by the ship *Margaret* of Salem, Captain Samuel G. Derby, and in the following year the charter was awarded to *Samuel Smith* under Captain G. Stiles and in 1803 to *Rebecca* of Baltimore under Captain James Deal. Incredibly, once again in 1803 the persistent Captain Stewart independent again of the Dutch at Batavia, arrived at Nagasaki for the fourth time aboard a vessel variously called *Frederick* or *Nagasaki Maru* and flying the Stars and Stripes. He is reported to have brought gifts to the Emperor including a camel, an Indian buffalo and a donkey, and is said to have petitioned specifically to establish an American trading port at Nagasaki.[17] This time, however, it was believed that his port of departure was India and that this last expedition of Stewart was filled-out by English merchants in Calcutta, and that Stewart used two names, the other being Torey.[18]

Once again Stewart, or Torey as the case may be, failed in his attempt to engage in trade independent of the Dutch and we are no closer to solving the riddle of who he was or for whom did he work. Why if he was English, as has been reported by Hildreth, Paske-Smith and Raffles, does he petition for American trading rights and why is his nationality not questioned by

15. Ibid.

16. W. Cleveland, *Journal of the Ship MASSACHUSETTS*, Peabody Museum of Salem, Salem, Mass.

17. S. Sakamaki, op. cit., p. 8.

18. R. Hildreth, op. cit., p. 449; S. Sakamaki, op. cit., p. 177 (James Torray).

Wood block print, Kitagawa Utamaro (1754-1806) brought to America in the *Franklin* during her 1799 voyage to Nagasaki, probably among the first Japanese prints to come to America and certainly the first to be brought on an American ship directly from Japan. The number '541' refers to the East India Marine Catalogue published in 1821, Japanese colored prints 538-542, James Devereaux. (Photo by Mark Sexton. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

Americans such as Cleveland and Devereux?[19] There is certainly good reason and logic for Stewart, if English, to pretend to be American because of Japanese prejudice against the English. William Cleveland reports in his journal that the Dutch '. . . have it in their power to prejudice the Japanders against any foreign nation of whom they may be jealous . . .' and that '. . . the English have been so successful in dislodging them from several places in India, both by force and intrigue, that they have every reason to be jealous of them, and it is not to be wondered at if they use every means in their power to prejudice the inhabitants of this country against them; it is thought by some that should an English vessel put in here—every soul would instantly be put to death.'[20]

Cleveland makes these journal entries after having already dined twice with Stewart and having met him and other members of his crew on other occasions. Could Stewart have fooled Cleveland into believing that he were an American? Where did the American registry papers of *Eliza* come from and, if not authentic, what was the true identity of the vessel and where was she from?

We are exasperated by the contradictions and frustrated in our attempts to establish the identity of the mysterious and remarkable Captain Stewart. Perhaps he was an American and properly credited with the first successful American trading voyage to Japan? Perhaps he was an American in the employment of the English wishing to break the Dutch monopoly? Whatever the case, it may be a moot question because the first cargo brought directly from Japan to America on an American ship was not accomplished by Stewart or the *Eliza*, but by Captain James Devereux aboard the ship *Franklin*, who arrived at Boston 20 May 1800.

19. M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days*, 1603-1868 (Kobe, Japan: J. L. Thompson & Co., Ltd., 1930), p. 129.

20. W. Cleveland, op. cit.

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Morse in Japan and His Impact There

JOHN E. THAYER

14 APRIL 1985—ENOSHIMA, JAPAN

A BRISK, northeast breeze had been busy all night blowing three days' worth of cold, rainy, un-April weather over to Korea. On an early morning walk I was rewarded by an unexpected view of snow-capped Mt. Fuji floating high on the horizon above Sagami Bay. Now the sun shone from a clear blue sky as the Shonan All-Girl Marching Band belted out Sousa's 'Stars and Stripes Forever' in lieu of 'The Star Spangled Banner' for which there was no sheet music in all of Kanagawa Prefecture. It made a splendid substitute.

Two Shinto priests rose to chant before an altar loaded with food and sake—refreshments for the gods who would soon descend into the sacred space marked off in a square by four green bamboo poles connected at the top by a cord decorated with white paper strips folded into a zigzag pattern. Dignitaries marched up to lay sacred branches on the altar. A frail old lady in silk kimono gave the unveiling rope a vicious yank and the memorial stood revealed as a thousand colored balloons burst from the shrubbery and streamed up into the sun. The audience of some 200 applauded in auspicious Asian style, clapping three times three plus one. Next day *The Boston Globe* carried the full story, headlined as above, with a photograph of the priests sprinkling cherry blossoms on the memorial.

A splendid celebration and one that, in every aspect, from the view of Fuji in the morning, to the satellite transmission of the news report in the evening would have delighted the heart of Edward Sylvester Morse, renaissance man from Portland, Maine, and the Peabody Museum of Salem, the man who, though sixty years in his grave, stood at the center of the entire event.

My wife and I had flown to Japan to represent the Museum at the invitation and expense of the Morse Memorial Committee of Fujisawa City. The year before in Salem we had entertained the sculptor commissioned to create the memorial, Masamichi Yamamoto, and his wife. Though amply supplied with photographs of Morse, he had come all the way from Japan at his own expense to inhale the very atmosphere of Morse's Salem environment. So now it was time to step forward and inspect the finished product of so much time, effort and expense, not to mention love, expended by so many people. I will set the scene.

You may remember that the yacht racing events in the 1964 Olympics were sailed from Enoshima, an historically famous high-tide island in Sagami Bay several miles west of Kamakura that resembles a mini-Mont St. Michel. In preparation for the Olympics, a motor road replaced the foot bridge from shore to island, and land was filled to create a yacht basin complex.

The Morse Memorial site occupies about 600 square feet in the corner of a park by the yacht basin. It is attractively landscaped with trees, bushes and shrubs and the approach is paved with small square stones set an inch or more apart in curving lines. The memorial is a bronze relief about five feet long by two and a half feet high set off-center in a much larger block of polished granite of the same general proportions. In the relief, Morse sits on the left, deep in concentration before his notes. On the right stand three young Japanese school children in the dress of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) representing the heirs to the treasure of scientific knowledge that Morse brought to their country.

There is an inscription on the granite in Japanese

which is repeated in English on a smaller stone nearby. It reads, 'In 1877, E. S. Morse, professor of Zoology at the University of Tokyo, opened a laboratory at Enoshima. Though small and temporary, it was the first marine biological station in Japan.' The actual site of this laboratory, long since vanished, was somewhere several hundred feet inland from the memorial on the island's original shoreline. A large, bilingual sign in the corner of a new hotel's parking lot marks what some feel to be the spot.

Two days after the unveiling, I boarded JAL's nonstop Jumbo to New York and hooked up my personal, in-flight I.V.—a small flask of sake delivered at hourly intervals by an attractive flight attendant, the only way to survive the torture of twelve hours nailed to a procrustean seat in cattle class. This done, I settled down to ponder all I had seen and heard. Ten days from now, learned members of the North American Society for Oceanic History would be waiting in the Peabody Museum to hear what they mistakenly supposed would be a learned paper on the assigned topic, 'Morse in Japan and his Impact There.' That the paper remained unwritten troubled me not a bit. I would wing my way to victory or defeat with a handful of illegible notes. What did disturb me was that while I had flown to Japan confident in my knowledge of all the reasons behind Morse's impact there, now I was no longer sure. There was more impact indicated than my superficial reasonings could account for. Back in Salem I had jotted down a list of Morse's Japan-related accomplishments, and the Morse-related activities now emanating from Japan. I hauled it out for another look.

1. *1877*—Morse goes to Japan in pursuit of brachiopods. While riding on first railway in Japan between Yokohama and Shimbashi (Tokyo) sees shell mound from window in Omori area. Receives excavation permit. Introduces new Western science of archaeology to Japan.

2. *1878-1879*—Returns to Japan with family at request of Japanese government to chair Department of Zoology at recently established Imperial University in Tokyo. Introduces Darwin's theory of evolution. Helps found both a zoological and an archaeological museum paving way for present National Museum of Science. Builds huge pottery collection. Lectures madly to Japanese audiences hither and yon on a variety of topics.

3. *1882-1883*—Returns to Japan with William Sturgis Bigelow, connoisseur of things Japanese and great benefactor. Dons ethnologist's cap to commence in earnest comprehensive collection of 'ordinary' objects from everyday life in late Edo, early Meiji Japan (roughly 1850-1880) before they are swept away by tidal wave of Western industrialization. This collection, now largest and most complete of its kind in world, increasingly treasured by Japanese scholars.

4. *1885*—Publishes important book, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings*. Popular then, popular now in paperback with English and Japanese editions. Filled with own precise drawings.

5. *1898*—Receives Order of the Rising Sun from Emperor Meiji.

6. Large stone memorial to Morse raised at Omori shell mound excavation site. Check date, also date of second large memorial raised later at disputed site. Both still standing.

7. Ministry of Education incorporates story of Morse discovering Omori shell mounds and introducing study of archaeology to Japan into primary school texts across Japan. Check date of first appearance. Story still included in modern texts.

8. *1917*—Publishes famous book, *Japan Day by Day*, condensed version of copious (and almost illegible) journals kept during three visits to Japan (total time in country, less than three years!). Wonderfully illustrated with own sketches. Soon translated into Japanese. English edition now back in print.

9. *1922*—Receives Order of the Sacred Treasure from Emperor Taisho.

10. *1923*—September 1—Most of Yokohama and Tokyo destroyed by great earthquake and ensuing fire. Imperial University badly damaged. Morse, deeply concerned, decides to send his entire scientific library to replace lost volumes. Fills 69 large packing cases.

11. *1925*—Morse dies 20 December, his passing mourned by an army of devoted friends, colleagues, admirers, in United States and Japan.

12. Dr. Chikumasa Ninagawa, grandson of Morse's mentor in the connoisseurship of pottery translates Dorothy Wayman's biography of Morse (Harvard University Press, 1942) into Japanese. Check date of first publication of this genuine labor of love.

13. *1977*—The Omori Shell Mound Preservation Society under the vigorous leadership of Hideo Nishioka celebrates the 100th anniversary of Morse's arrival in Japan by opening a small shell mound museum

in a local telephone office near one of the Morse shell mound memorials. Mr. Nishioka, formerly professor of archaeology at Keio University, is now director of the Folk History Museum of the Tokyo borough of Ohta. This fine little museum includes an excellent exhibit on Ohta's archaeology complete with a large picture of Morse and the story of his contributions. Opening ceremonies for shell mound museum include parade with Morse float, and Japanese girl and boy scouts bearing flags of both nations. American Embassy sends bewildered representative. Peabody Museum, celebrating same anniversary with exhibition of Morse collection objects, cables flowers and congratulations.

14. *1978*—The indefatigable Nishioka leads a band of 20 shell mound true believers all the way to Salem to see the Morse Exhibit. Many dinners and speeches. Many slip-off Japanese shoes slip off in deep March snows while paying visit to Morse's grave.

15. *1982*—Leading Japanese weekly magazine sends writer and photographer to document the Morse collection at the Peabody Museum. Result is a major article in two installments attracting wide notice.

16. *1983*—Large Japanese publishing house, Shogakukan, sends photographer and editor to Salem to shoot hand-tinted, glass lantern slides of Japan collected by Morse one hundred years ago.

17. *1983*—File cards of entire Morse collection xeroxed at publisher's expense and sent to National Museum of Ethnology near Osaka. Morse study room established there and cards processed to go on Museum's computer in Japanese and English. Morse study group convened with schedule of regular meetings to hear papers and commentaries by Morse scholars (Japanese, of course!).

18. *1983*—Autumn. Book, *Japan, 100 Years Ago—Photographs from the Morse collection at the Peabody Museum* is published in Japanese. Forty-two thousand copies sell out in two months. Publisher flabbergasted.

19. *1984*—January. Exhibition of giant four-color prints selected from *Japan, 100 Years Ago* opens for five-day run at Isetan department store during long New Year's holiday. Twenty-five thousand people attend.

20. *1984*—April. Takashimaya department store opens exhibition, 'Japanese Shop Signs from the Morse Collection in the Peabody Museum' at main store in Tokyo. Following unusually long three-week

Edward S. Morse as photographed in a Yokohama studio, 1877. (Photo by Suzuki, Yokohama, Japan. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

stay, show moves to major branch stores in Osaka and Kyoto. Total attendance close to 100,000. Exposure time—a week short of two months.

21. *1985*—April. Morse Memorial unveiled at Enoshima as noted.

22. *1985*—June. The Tokyo borough of Shinagawa opens its own Shell Mound Park dedicated to Morse with a delegation from Portland, Maine in attendance. The battle of the shell mounds escalates. Why *are* the Japanese so crazy about Morse?

A stewardess arrived, flask in hand (number three). 'You must like Japanese sake,' she hazarded nervously. 'When I drink sake, I think of white herons wading in a rice paddy after planting,' I replied in flawed Japanese and flashed my most winning smile. She fled. I could have cared less, for at that very moment I had caught hold of a thread that might lead to the heart of the Morse perplex. I settled back and embarked on the following speculation.

China and the Opium War—1839-1842

When Lin Tse-hsu was appointed commissioner of Canton and charged with the duty of ending the British controlled opium trade from India, he wrote a letter to Queen Victoria which said in part,

> Suppose there were people from another country who carried opium for sale in England and seduced your people into buying it and smoking it; certainly [you] would deeply hate it and be bitterly aroused.

The queen made no reply to this plea, if indeed she ever saw it, and Lin proceeded to move against the trade and pressure the British out of Canton. By midsummer of 1839 they had regrouped on a sparsely populated island down river called Hong Kong. There they made their stand, and the first pitched battle of the Opium War took place in November of that year.

The outcome, of course, was never in doubt and a painting of an incident in the conflict is instructive. It shows on the left a vessel of the British East India Company, a 184-foot, iron-hulled, shallow draft, 120 horse power, side-wheel steamer mounting two thirty-two-pound pivot guns fore and aft. Aptly named the *Nemesis*, this little 'peace-keeper' is depicted in the act of lobbing Congreve rockets into a gaggle of back-winded Chinese war junks near Chuenpi. One of the junks has just taken a hit in its magazine and is blowing into artistic smithereens. By 1842, that particular war was over and the Treaty of Nanking was signed, the first of a series of humiliating treaties that reduced China to semi-colonial status.

Japan and Commodore Matthew Perry

In 1639, alarmed and irritated by the religious and economic wranglings of foreign priests and traders, the Tokugawa Shogunate established a policy of National Seclusion known in Japanese as *Sakoku*. All foreigners were thrown out except the Dutch who were permitted to continue trade from the strict confines of a small, man-made island in Nagasaki harbor. Christianity was proscribed. With a few special exceptions, no foreigners were allowed in. And, with a few special exceptions, no Japanese were allowed out. These exceptions plus the Dutch provided the authorities with listening posts on the affairs of the world at large. Thus they were well aware of Western 'activities' in China and the resulting fate of that nation. And when Commodore Matthew G. Perry sailed into Uraga—down the coast from Edo (modern Tokyo) in 1853 with two steam frigates, the *Susquehanna*, and the *Mississippi*, accompanied by two sloops, they knew their time had come.

Previous to Perry's arrival, the Americans had made a number of private and official attempts to arrange for repatriating shipwrecked mariners, watering vessels of the whaling and merchant fleets and establishing coaling stations in keeping with the new age of steam. These attempts had always been sharply and successfully rebuffed and once again the Japanese authorities resorted to bluff and bluster. But Perry would have none of it. The Douglas MacArthur of his day, he had a grand sense of his own place on the center stage of history. Had he been Japanese, he would have made a splendid Kabuki actor. After considerable negotiation, he sailed away leaving behind the ominous promise to return next year with an offer the shogunate could not refuse.

A Treaty of Peace and Amity—1854

Good to his word, Commodore Perry did indeed return next year, earlier than expected, bringing with him three steam frigates and five sailing vessels, one quarter of the U.S. Navy. That was a stronger hand than anything the shogunate held, and on 31 March 1854 the Kanagawa Treaty was duly signed. Its full title was *Nichibei Washin Jōyaku*, 'A Treaty of Peace and Amity between Japan and America' and though it was signed under the duress of gunboat diplomacy, at first glance it seemed innocuous enough. The ports of Shimoda on Honshu and Hakodate on Yezo (modern Hokkaido) were to be open to American vessels, and provisions supplied. Shipwrecked sailors were to be treated well and kept at one of these two ports for repatriation. A 'most favored nation' clause was inserted with an eye to future negotiations and last, but far from least, an American Consulate was opened in Shimoda. The Shogunate concluded similar treaties with England the same year, Russia the next and ultimately Holland. They had to. Thus 1854 marked an end and a beginning which are both important in Japanese history. It was the end of the Tokugawa government's policy of National Seclusion. And it was the beginning of the period now known as *Bakumatsu* (1854-1867), 'The End of the Tokugawa Regime.'

A Treaty of Unequal Concessions—1858

The big catch in the Kanagawa Treaty was the consulate in Shimoda. There sat the Consul, Townshend Harris, quartered in a Buddhist Temple and isolated by the apprehensive authorities to the best of their abilities from everyone and everything. Unperturbed, Harris passed the time by fashioning a new treaty and pressing it upon the Shogunate. It was signed in 1858—the year Perry died—and once again similar treaties were concluded almost immediately with England, Holland, France and Russia waiting in the wings. In English they are called the Ansei Commercial Treaties. In Japanese they are *Ansei Gokakoku Jōyaku,* 'The Ansei Five-Power Treaties.' They were signed in the fifth year of Ansei, the name the Japanese happened to give that period of their history, and they contained the following provisions between Japan and the signees. The exchange of diplomatic representatives. The opening of seven ports for trade. From north to south they were Hakodate, Sendai, Edo (Tokyo), Kanagawa (Yokohama), Osaka, Hyōgo (Kobe) and Nagasaki. Living and recreational quarters for foreigners were to be assigned in those cities. Foreigners were exempted from local laws (extraterritoriality). Tariff rates were to be set by the foreigners. The last two were particularly harsh blows to the self-esteem of proud Asians forced to acquiesce for want of advanced Western weaponry.

The Knows and the Know-nots

The government of Japan from 1600 to 1867 was based on a complicated neo-feudal system devised by the first Tokugawa of them all, Lord Ieyasu. In it, lords (*daimyo*) governed some thirty or more domains (*han*) all under the complete control of the House of Tokugawa whose headquarters were Edo Castle on the very same estate in the middle of modern Tokyo now occupied by the emperor.

Since they operated at the very center of an all-powerful government, shogunate officials knew everything there was to know including the facts of life about heavily armed foreigners. The farther away from Tokyo you went, the less the facts were known and attitudes became more conservative and anti-foreign, even anti-Tokugawa. Farthest away and therefore preeminent among the know-nots were the large and powerful domains of Satsuma, farthest south on Kyushu, and Chōshū farthest west on Honshu. They were also among the most vociferous of a growing anti-shogunate movement whose slogan was, *Sonnō Jōi,* 'Honor the Emperor! Expel the Barbarian!' After all, that was the self-proclaimed duty of the Shoguns, wasn't it? Then why all the pussyfooting? Get on with it, man!

Lessons in Social Darwinism for Satsuma and Chōshū

On 14 September 1862, Charles Richardson, an English merchant and three friends went riding through an area behind Yokohama called Namamugi. There they chanced upon the train of marching samurai accompanying the crusty Lord of Satsuma, Shimazu Hisamitsu, on the long journey home to southern Kyushu. Japanese custom required riders to dismount so as not to be higher than a lord in his palanquin. Richardson refused and was cut out of the saddle by an angry samurai using, it is said, the famous Satsuma 'Sky-High Draw,' a lightning stroke straight from the scabbard to a mounted opponent. One evening in Japan, several years ago, I sought to ease a sudden twinge of homesickness with a few belts of Jack Daniels in the bar of the Yokohama Grand Hotel and discovered the bartender knew all about the Namamugi-cho Jiken as the incident is called. His grandfather had witnessed it from hiding as a child and run home weeping, *Onjin ga taorichatta,* 'The foreigner fell over.'

Richardson died and two of his friends were wounded. The British demanded and received an indemnity of 100,000 pounds from the shogunate. Next year they sent a squadron of seven ships down to Kagoshima, 'capital' of the Satsuma domain, to collect further indemnity and demand the execution of the so-called murderers. On being greeted with a round of rusty cannonballs from the forts atop the hills ringing Kagoshima, the British sank every boat in the harbor and leveled half the town. Impressed, the domain government concluded a special peace treaty with England and undertook a practical study program that could have been entitled, 'How to Build a Modern Navy.'

Meanwhile, off on the western tip of Honshu, the hotheads of Chōshū domain continued to hassle foreign bottoms passing through Shimonoseki Straits, the passages to and from the Inland Sea of Japan and the China Sea between Honshu and Kyushu. Their antique artillery fire irritated the westerners and a com-

bined fleet of English, Dutch, French and American naval vessels was assembled to deal with the situation. This they did by levelling all the Chōshū forts along the straits in September 1864. Impressed, the leaders of Chōshū could see with half an eye that expelling the barbarian was easier said than done. So they shelved that program and set about converting their army from bands of warrior swordmen and spearmen to drilled units of farmers and townsmen. These they armed with American breechloading carbines and percussion revolvers in preference to the slim, elegant matchlocks which had remained the standard firearm in Japan, little changed, since their introduction by the Portuguese in 1543.

Some paragraphs back I mentioned the Ansei Five-Power Treaties opening seven ports across the Japanese Archipelago. They were signed by Lord Ii Naosuke for the Shogunate in 1858 without obtaining Imperial sanction. Lord Ii was assassinated for this and other acts of lèse majesté by pro-emperor radicals and implementation of the treaties never got off the ground. To help matters along, a squadron of nine foreign warships was dispatched to Hyōgo Bay on 20 November 1865 to demand, nay, insist upon the immediate opening of Hyōgo, one of the ports listed in the treaty. Properly alarmed, the court in Kyoto graciously granted overnight approval and the unequal treaties went into effect.

Two years later, following a civil war of sorts, the Tokugawa government fell after controlling Japan absolutely for over 250 years. It can be argued reasonably that their end was waiting not too far down the road and that foreign intervention only shortened the distance. Be that as it may, the point I wish to make is that foreign intervention, unwanted and unasked for by anyone, did indeed make a major change in Japanese history and through means which can hardly be described as the Quaker practice of friendly persuasion.

Among the leaders of the new government of the Meiji Restoration were many former samurai from Satsuma and Chōshū, men with first-hand experience in the methodology of Western economic imperialism. They perceived, correctly, that the only way to keep Japan off the neo-colonial leash then choking China was to avail themselves of the resources that made the West so strong—science, industry, a strong army and navy. They set about this at once, adopting a new national slogan to inspire the people in the great struggle ahead. The slogan was, *Fukoku Kyōhei,* 'Enrich the country! Strengthen the military!' It saved their skins from the foreign devils in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but was left on the books too long and ultimately led to the disaster of World War II.

Morse in America, 1838-1877

If 1867 was a bad year for the Tokugawa, it was an exceptionally good one for Edward Sylvester Morse. The museum headquarters of the foundering East India Marine Society of Salem had been bailed out by a generous endowment from nouveau philanthropist George Peabody of London, England, and Danvers, Massachusetts. The institution was renamed The Peabody Academy of Science and four young scientists—Hyatt, Packard, Cook and Morse—all former students of the great zoologist Louis Agassiz and all destined for greatness were hired to give substance to the new name. This was the first salaried position for Morse in his chosen career as a zoologist. And it was the beginning of an association with the Peabody Museum that would last until his death in 1925.

To begin at the beginning, Morse was born in Portland, Maine, in 1838. Bright and quick, he had no patience for formal education and in all his life never graduated from anything including sixth grade. After age twelve, during what might be called his drop-out decade, he was visited by two strokes of good luck. The first was being made an apprentice draftsman at the Portland Company where interesting iron objects like bridges and locomotives were designed and built. Morse worked here off and on for a number of years during summer vacations and school perpetual-leave-of-absence vacations. And here he developed his talent for quick sketches and precise mechanical drawing that was one of his greatest assets as a zoologist, ethnologist, author and lecturer.

The second stroke of good luck was a brief educational encounter with Bethel Academy where the astute headmaster, Nathaniel True, realizing that the twig was already unalterably bent decided to help the tree incline in its chosen direction. With True's help Morse was introduced to members of the Boston Society of Natural History, and it was at a meeting of this august body in 1856 that Morse's first scientific paper was read. He was eighteen at the time and his subject was

Helix astericus, a tiny, earth-colored snail. The paper was well received and published in the Society's proceedings the following year. It was, of course, illustrated by Morse.

Why Japanologists Owe a Debt of Eternal Gratitude to Darwin, Agassiz and the Unlovely Brachiopod

After three years of pursuing his own, unique work-study program in the Portland Company and on the beaches of Maine, Morse had made such progress that he was recommended and accepted as a student assistant to the great naturalist, Louis Agassiz, then laying the foundations for the present Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College. Significantly, the year was 1859, the year that Charles Darwin published his controversial theory, 'The Evolution of Species.'

Morse spent two fruitful years of hard work in Cambridge and then left in 1861 following a disagreement with Agassiz. As an older man, a conservative scholar and a staunch Swiss Calvinist to boot, it was much more difficult for Agassiz than for his young assistant to hear out Darwin's un-Godly arguments with an open mind. By chance, at a meeting of the Boston Natural History Society which Morse attended, Agassiz happened to single out an unappetizing little sea beast, the brachiopod, to exemplify the error of Darwin's thinking. He made the point that living specimens of brachipoda when compared with fossils found in the lowest level of the Potsdam sandstone showed ' . . . the last no more perfect than the first . . . a fatal objection to the theory of gradual development.' This remark set Morse on a course of proving Darwin right—and Agassiz wrong—through a systematic and, ultimately, never-ending study of brachiopods.

Francis W. Hatch, Sr., the Cole Porter of Back Bay, once wrote a song that began, 'Henry Thoreau never fell for a blond, Henry Thoreau fell in love with a pond.' Morse's femme fatale was the scraggy-necked brachiopod. In 1870 he published a paper heralding what was to be his greatest single contribution to science. It was a study which suggested that brachiopods were in fact marine worms with shells and not mollusks as they were classified in traditional conchology. He followed this up with a long paper delivered before the Boston Society of Natural History in 1873. An even more detailed version was published in the Society's proceedings and Morse sent a copy to Darwin himself. Darwin replied with a most complimentary note of praise and gratitude. What more could you want? But for Morse, by then besotted with brachiopods, it was not enough. Specimens of his favorite worm were hard to come by on the Atlantic seaboard and when he heard that one might find thirty, even forty varieties of living lingulae in the waters of Sagami Bay forty miles south of Tokyo he had to answer his siren's song. Taking leave of absence from the Peabody Academy of Science, he sailed from San Francisco on 29 May 1877, bound for Yokohama aboard the *City of Tokio*.

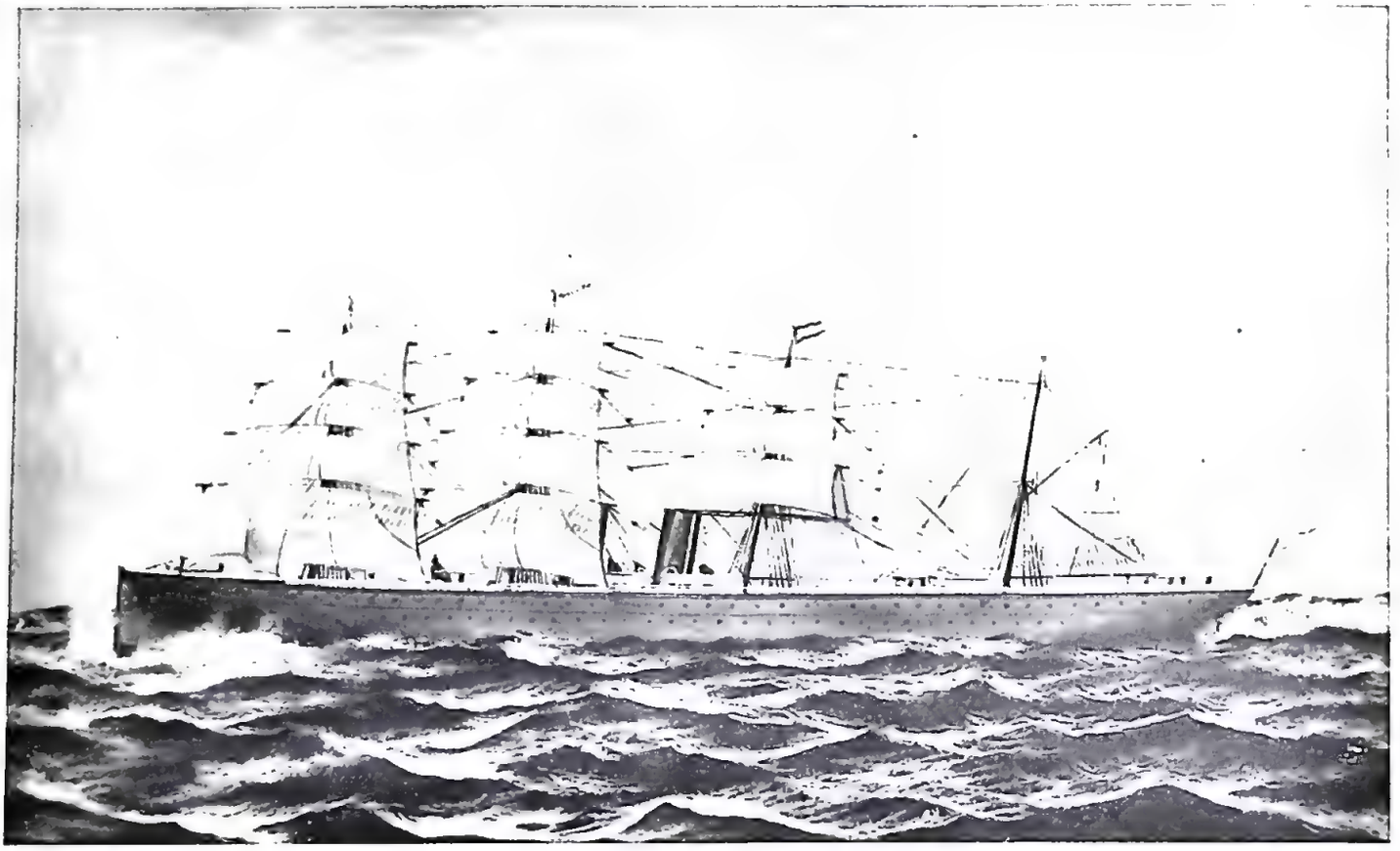
The Rise of Steam and the Fall of Sail . . . a Maritime Diversion

This paper was prepared for a meeting of maritime historians, but has presented precious little of their favorite topic up to this point beyond the impact of Western war vessels on Japanese history. So now is an appropriate and probably welcome moment to irrigate these arid pages with a little sea water.

For all his prodigious accomplishments in Japan, the actual time Morse spent in that country was brief . . . no more than three years in all. Out in May 1877 and back in November of the same year. Out with his family in April 1878 as noted, and back in September of 1879 along with former president U. S. Grant returning from a visit to Japan on the final leg of a trip around the world. Out for the last time with Sturgis Bigelow in June 1882 and then on around the world alone in February 1883. That he was able to flit to and fro across some 9,000 miles of American continent and Pacific Ocean with such seeming ease is worthy of investigation. The first leg is quickly and easily explained by the iron road which the Union Pacific had laid across the country in 1869. From San Francisco on out the story becomes more interesting.

The Pride of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company

In 1867, with a subsidy from Congress, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had begun a regular service known, regrettably, as the 'coolie run,' between their homeport in San Francisco, Tokyo and Hong Kong with a steam, side-wheeler, the *Colorado*. Their for-



Morse's magic carpet across the Pacific, the S. S. *City of Tokio.* (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

tunes prospered and ere long their flotilla of steamships numbered thirty-two, twelve screw (steamships) and twenty paddlers.

The stars of this fleet were the *City of Tokio* and the *City of Peking,* ordered by Pacific Mail from John Roach of Chester, Pennsylvania, a yankee-style genius who rose from being an obscure iron founder to a world famous designer of engines and shipbuilder. Slated for completion in 1873, the two cities were delayed while on frame when Pacific Mail requested the size be increased from 4,000 to 5,000 tons to beat the Scottish competition on the Clyde. Launched in March 1874, the *City of Peking* cost $1,437,397. Her sister ship was launched three months later and cost $162,295 less thanks to savings effected by shared construction. Four hundred and eight feet long with a beam of forty-seven feet and a draft of twenty-four feet (thirty-eight feet from deck to hold bottom), they weighed 5,079 gross tons, were the largest vessels built in the United States to that date and the second largest in the world after Isambard Kingdom Brunel's monster masterpiece, the *Great Eastern.*

Both carried the rigging and sail of a four-masted bark, but the real power came from the engine room, 4,500 horsepower to be exact. This was generated by a compound engine with one high-pressure cylinder of fifty-one-inch diameter and one low-pressure cylinder of eighty-eight-inch diameter. The cylinder stroke for both was a modest four and a half feet, and ten boilers supplied the steam to pump them up and down. With fifty-two r.p.m. on the shaft connected to a four-bladed, twenty-foot screw, this produced a respectable fifteen and a half knots. Morse's first voyage out on the *City of Tokio* took seventeen days from San Francisco to Yokohama. The *City of Peking*'s best run between the same ports was a return voyage of fifteen days, nine hours. Not bad. The *City of Peking* was built for conversion to an auxiliary cruiser with mounts for six, five-inch quick-firing rifles and eight machine guns. This conversion was never made though the *Pe-*

The *Panay*, last of the great fleet of Salem East Indiamen. (Photo by N. L. Stebbins. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem.)

king did indeed carry troops to the Philippines in the Spanish-American War. Both vessels were built and maintained under a shadowy subsidy from the postmaster general.

The Last of the Salem Indiamen

A most appropriate comparison between rising steam and falling sail presents itself. For as Morse was arriving in Japan in June 1877, Justin E. Taylor of East Boston had just launched a medium-clipper, full-rigged ship to the order of Stone, Silsbees, Pickman & Allen of Salem. Christened the *Panay* (the fleet also included the *Mindoro* and *Sooloo*), she was 186' 7" long with a 37' beam and 23' 2" draft and cost $74,582.75. I like that seventy-five cents.

On her maiden voyage, the *Panay* set sail for Melbourne, Australia, under charter to Henry W. Peabody & Company with a mixed cargo of 2,124 tons. That she was a stout ship there can be no doubt. Soon after leaving Boston in early September of 1877 she encountered a hurricane of unusual force. Caught in the same storm was the Tudor Ice Company's brand new vessel, the *Iceland*, bound for Bombay under the experienced command of Captain Charles L. Gardener. The *Iceland* was lost without a trace, but the *Panay*

plowed through, rounded the Horn and reached Australia 100 days later. From there she sailed to Iloilo in the Philippines, loaded sugar and sailed back to Boston arriving 25 September 1878, a round trip of twelve months and thirteen days. By contrast, a steam-propelled Morse was able to make three trips between Salem and Yokohama in one third of that time. Nevertheless the *Panay* was a splendid little ship and the pride of her owners who always, as W. H. Bunting wrote, 'maintained her like a yacht.' The last of the great fleet of Salem East Indiamen, she was lost in the Philippines while under tow through the inexcusably bad seamanship of the tug skipper.

Morse in Japan and his Impact There

Thus the stage is set. We are back in Japan and it is 1877, just ten years after the fall of the Tokugawa government. Center stage stands a group of former samurai entrusted with the task of bringing their country out of the quiet harbor of 250 years' seclusion and into the high seas of an industrially revolutionized nineteenth century. They appraise each foreigner who passes by. Does he possess in full measure expertise in one of the western skills they need so desperately? Will he share all he knows? Can he be trusted, or is he just another globe-trotting carpet bagger ready to rip them off? Many were.

Enter stage right renaissance Yankee Edward Sylvester Morse, bubbling wellspring of scientific knowledge, willing to share any time anywhere and honest as the day is long. Indeed, there were a number of foreign experts like that, but Morse went further. A man almost totally devoid of prejudice of any kind, he made no distinctions between East and West and never spoke patronizingly of the funny little Japs and their quaint, backward country. The Japanese were grateful.

Connoisseurs like Fenollosa and Bigelow focused on Japanese fine arts alone. Morse's interest was in the ordinary objects of everyday living. The Japanese remember that and are flattered.

Morse quickly adapted himself to the intricacies of Japanese etiquette and politeness. On his third and last trip to Japan in 1883, a reception was given in his honor and thirty-two of his former students, now all leaders in Japan's fast-growing education system, came to see him. Though it was three years since last they'd met, Morse remembered each by name. One of them observed that this was quite remarkable for in the one full year that he had worked with an English professor the man had never once called him by his correct name. Morse's efforts and consideration were deeply appreciated in matters like these, and still are.

I close with a quote from an article that once appeared in the now defunct *Japan Weekly Mail*, a newspaper published in English by Japanese. Datelined Yokohama: Saturday, 6 September 1879, it sums up my case before the jury and runs as follows:

> Amongst the passengers by the *City of Tokio* to America was Professor Edward S. Morse, accompanied by his family, whose departure will be a great loss to the department in which he has been laboring for the past two years. Coming here on a purely scientific expedition, he acceded to a request from the Directors of the University of Tokio to fill, for a short term at least, the Chair of Zoology in that institution. His work during the two years of his stay in Japan, has not been confined to the performance of the regular professional duties of the college, for he has made unstinted use of his ability and energy for the benefit of the natives of this country. Being a man of irrepressible activity and inexhaustible enthusiasm, also an impressive and fluent speaker, and possessed of great skill in blackboard illustrations, he has given many lectures on a variety of subjects before native audiences; never refusing, when occasion demanded it, going miles into the country for that purpose. He has travelled from one end of Japan to the other to make collections for the Zoological Museum of the University, which has received large additions through his efforts. In the same institution he has founded an Archaeological Museum where will be found his Omori collections and many others made by him which will, without doubt, greatly facilitate the work of others interested in the study of antiquities. A man of genial and pleasant manners, and of a most generous disposition, making many acquaintances and friends among the people of Japan, he has endeared himself to them to an extent equalled by few foreign residents.

Thank you, Edward Sylvester Morse, most sincerely. You are my hero, too.

John E. Thayer, III
Research Fellow in
Japanese Arts and Crafts

Credits-Bibliography

I am indebted to Dr. Money L. Hickman of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, whose knowledge of Things Japanese, Edward S. Morse and a great diversity of

maritime matters is truly encyclopedic, for all my information on the *City of Tokio* and *Peking*. The wealth of material concerning these two remarkable vessels which he generously shared with me even included the precise date and place where the *Tokio* came ashore on the Japanese coast in a heavy fog and exactly who and what were on board. Though she suffered little damage in the grounding, she could not be refloated and was a total loss.

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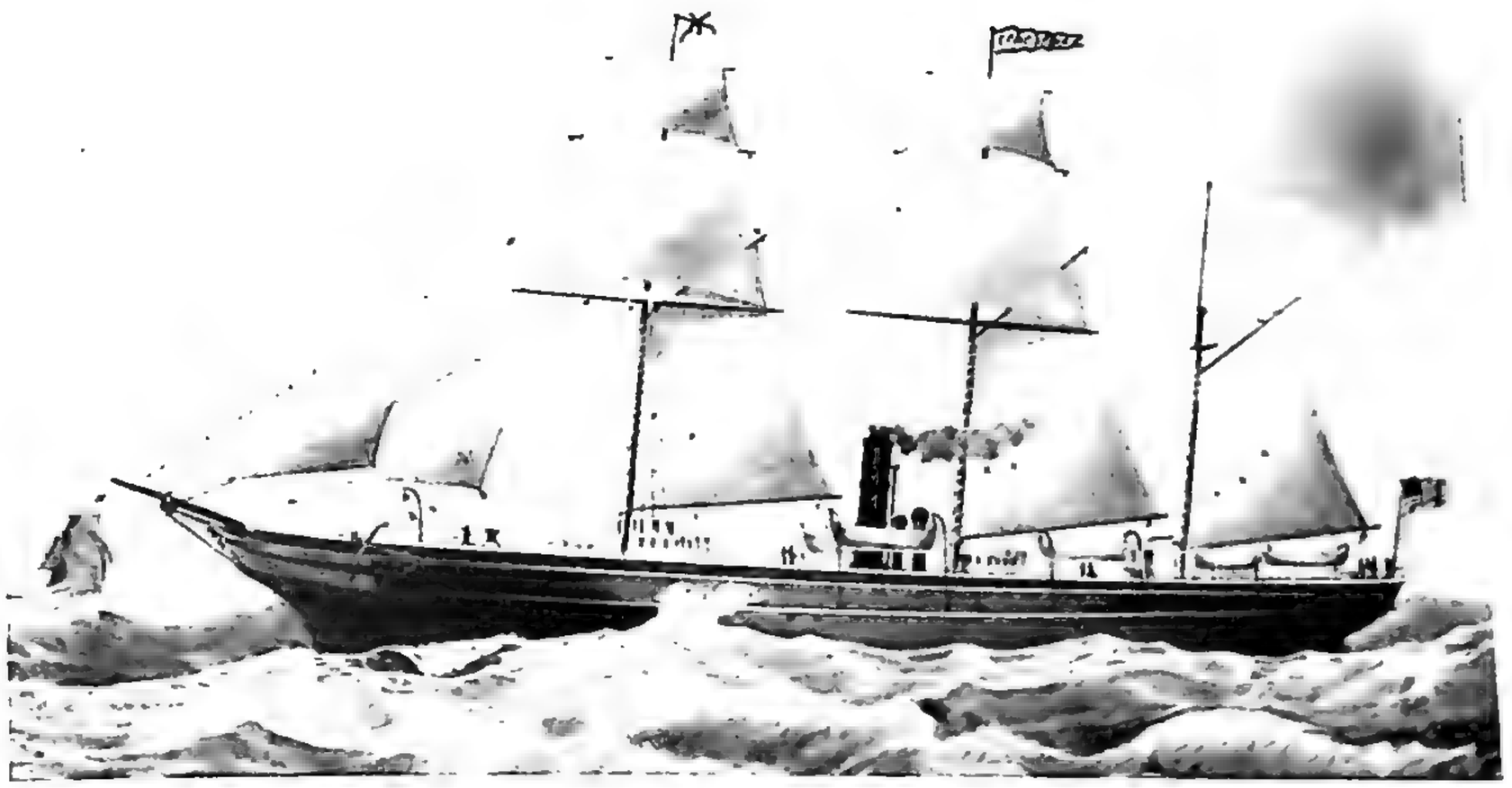

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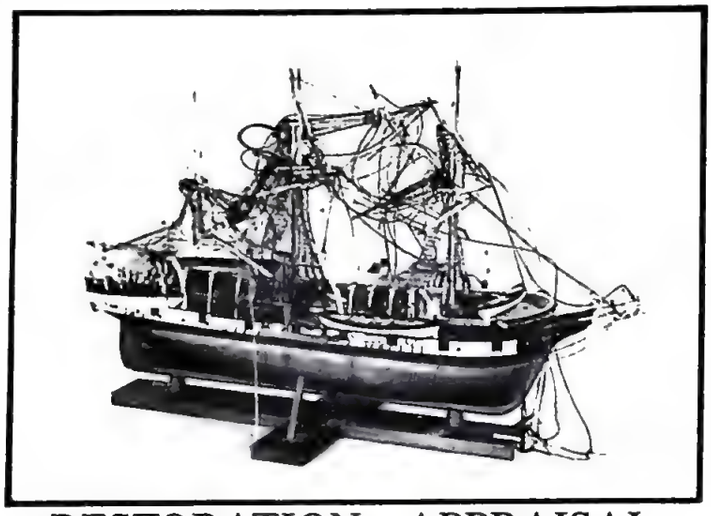

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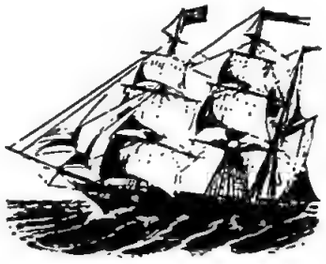

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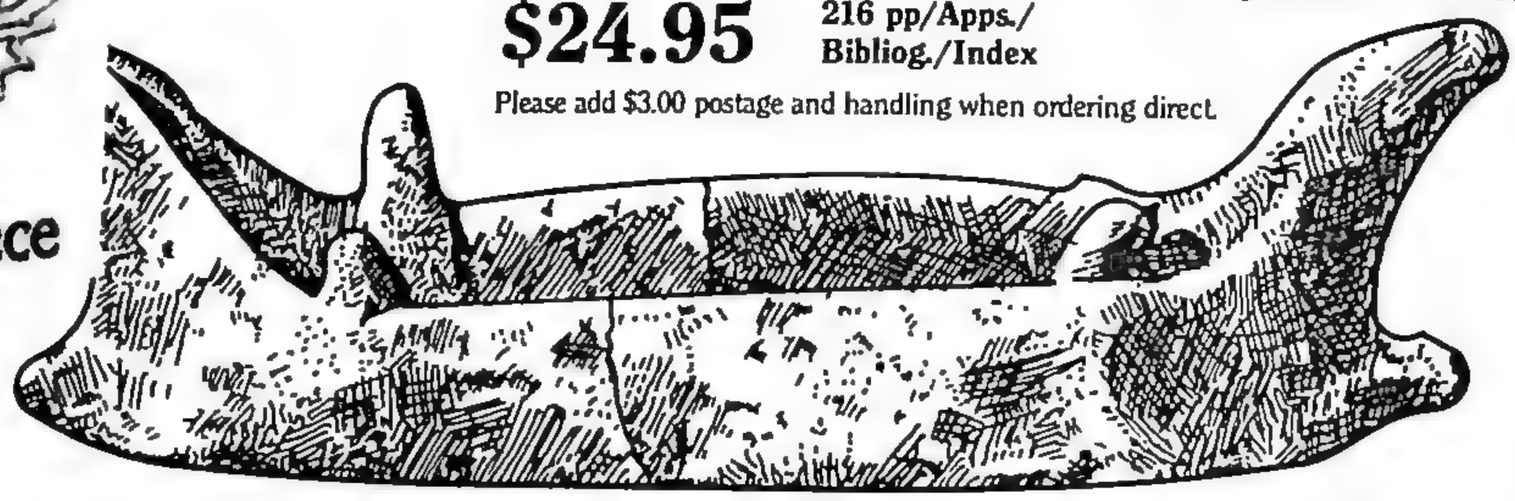

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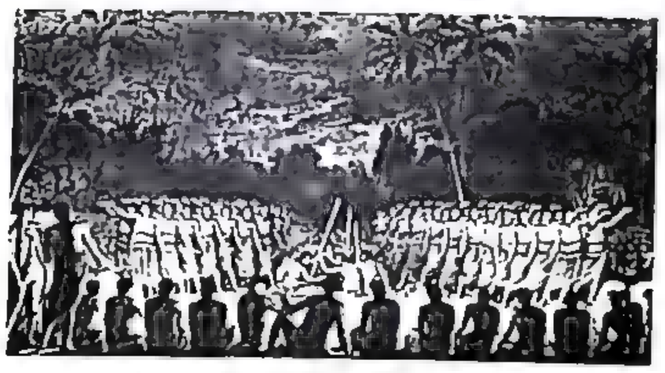

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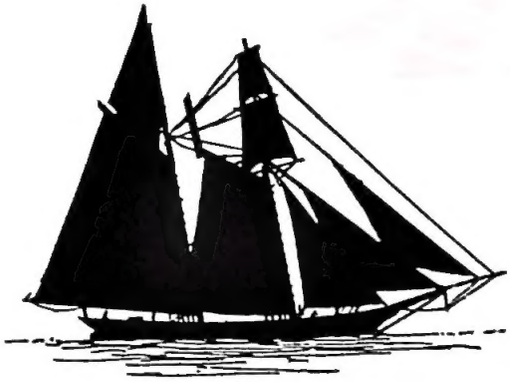

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1. Title of Publication: *The American Neptune.*
   A. Publication No. *0003-0155.*
2. Date of Filing: *26 September 1985.*
3. Frequency of Issue: *Quarterly.*
   A. No. of Issues Published Annually: *4.*
   B. Annual Subscription Price: *$32.00.*
4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: *East India Square, Salem, MA 01970.*
5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher: *Peabody Museum of Salem, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970.*
6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:
Publisher *The Peabody Museum of Salem, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970.*
Editor *Archibald R. Lewis, Peabody Museum of Salem, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970.*
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